

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

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Subject to subsequent revision, the following is the proposed list of volumes
of the Linguistic Survey of India.

- Vol. I Introductory
- „ II Mön-Khmär and Tai families
- „ III. Part I Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam
- „ „ II Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages
- „ „ III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages
- „ IV Mundā and Dravidian languages
- „ V Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group
 - Part I Bengali and Assamese.
 - „ II Bihāri and Oṛiyā
- „ VI Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindi)
- „ VII Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marāṭhi)
- „ VIII Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group
 - Part I Sindhi and Lahndā
 - „ II Dardic, or Pisācha, languages (including Kāshmiri)
- „ IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group
 - Part I Western Hindi and Pañjābī.
 - „ II Rājasthānī and Gujarātī.
 - „ III Bhil languages, Khāndēśī, etc
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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED

A —For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ a, आ ā, इ i, ई ē, उ u, ऊ ū, ऋ rī, ए e, ऐ ē, ओ o, औ ō, औ au
 क ka ख kha ग ga घ gha ङ na च cha छ chha ज ja झ zha ञ ña
 ट ta ठ tha ड da ढ dha ण ña त ta थ tha द da ध dha न na
 प pa फ pha ब ba भ bha म ma य ya र ra ल la व va or wa
 श śa ष sha स sa ह ha ङ ra ढ rha क la ङ ha

Visarga (') is represented by *h*, thus क्रमश् *kramash* Anuswāra (') is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *simh*, वम् *vam* In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*, thus बङ्ग *bang* Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus में *mē*

B —For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا a, etc	ح j	د d	ر r	س s	ع 'e
ب b	छ ch	ड d	र r	श sh	ع gh
प p	ह h	ज z	र z	ص s	ف f
त t	ल l		ज zh	ص s	ق q
ठ t				ط t	ك k
ठ s				ط z	ك g
					ل l
					م m
					ن n
					when representing <i>anundika</i> in Dēva nāgarī, by ~ over nasalized vowel.
					و w or v
					ه h
					ي y, etc

Tanwin is represented by *n*, thus فاوران *fauran* Alef-e maqṣū'a is represented by *ā*,—thus داوای *da'wā*

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus باند *banda* When pronounced, it is written,—thus گناه *gunāh*

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration Thus बान *ban*, not *banā* When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line Thus (Hindī) देखता *dēkh'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*, (Kāsh-mīrī) तह *tāh*, कर् *kar*, pronounced *kor*, (Bihārī) देखि *dēkhat*

O—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted —

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (ॢ), Paṣhtō (ټ), Kāshmirī (ټ, ټ), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ड), Paṣhtō (ځ), and Tibetan (ད) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmirī ټ (ټ) is represented by *ñ*.
- (d) Sindhī ٺ, Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N-W Frontier) ڙ, and Paṣhtō ږ or ږ are represented by *n*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣhtō —
 ټ *t*, ټ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation, ږ *d*, ږ *r*, ږ *zh* or *q*, according to pronunciation, ښ *sh* or *lh*, according to pronunciation, ښ or ښ *n*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhī —
 ٻ *bb*, ٻ *bh*; ٺ *th*, ٺ *t*, ٺ *th*, ٺ *ph*, ڄ *jj*, ڄ *jh*, ڄ *chh*;
 ڄ *ñ*, ڄ *dh*; ڄ *d*, ڄ *dd*, ڄ *dh*, ڪ *k*, ڪ *kh*, ڳ *gg*, ڳ *gh*,
 ڳ *n*, ڳ *n*.

D—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following —

á,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i>		
ā,	„	„	<i>a</i> in <i>hat</i>
ē,	„	„	<i>e</i> in <i>met</i>
ō,	„	„	<i>o</i> in <i>hot</i>
e,	„	„	<i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i>
o,	„	„	<i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i>
ō,	„	„	<i>ō</i> in the German <i>schön</i>
ū,	„	„	<i>ū</i> in the „ <i>mūhe</i>
th,	„	„	<i>th</i> in <i>think</i>
dh,	„	„	<i>th</i> in <i>this</i>

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Mundā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *l'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

E—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *dsststai*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Volume of the *Linguistic Survey* contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

GIPSY LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Pendhārīs, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades, others, like the Banjārās, Ōds, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade, others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsī, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect	Estimated number of speakers
Korwa and Yerukala	55,116
Kaikāḍī	8,289
Burgandī	265
Gōlari	3,614
Kurumba	10,399
Vaḍari	27,099
TOTAL	104,782

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol IX, Part III, of this Survey, *viz* —

Name of dialect	Estimated number of speakers
Bāorī	12,000
Banjari	15,500
Charapi	1,200
Habūṛā	950
Par'dhi or Takaukarī	868
Siyālgiri	120
Tārimūki or Ghisaḍi (Vol IX, Part II)	1,600
TOTAL	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz* —

Name of dialect	Estimated number of speakers
Bēldarī	5,140
Bhamṛī	14
Dōm	13,500
Gārōdī	2
Gulguḥā	853
Kanjari (including Kuchbandhi)	7,085
Kōlhāṛī	2,367
Laḍī	500
Macharṇā	30
Malar	2,300
Myanwālē or Lharī	2
Natī	11,534
Ōḍkī	2,814
Peṇḍhārī	1,250
Qaṣāī	2,700
Sāsī	51,550
Sikalgārī	25
TOTAL	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhi with a slight admixture of Panjābi and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chūhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

AUTHORITIES—

- MUHAMMAD ABDEL GHAFUR,—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab, together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members* For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab Lahore Printed at the Central Jail Press 1879 Contains Slang terms of Gamblers, pp 29 30, Pilferers or Uthāgīras, pp 32 38, Khallāt Uchakka and Tagu, pp 38-40, Sansis, pp 40 51, Doomnas, pp 51-54, Gandhīlas, pp 54-56, Sweepers of Delhi District, p 57, Sweepers of Punjab, pp 57 59, Harūis, pp 59 60, Būrnās, pp 60 61, Mīnās, p 62, Meor, pp 62 63, Ahūs and Goojars, p 64, Thugs p 65, Pachhādīlas, pp 65 66
- LEITNER, G W, LL D—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafur's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab* Lahore Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880 This "Analysis" contains all, and corrects almost all the words and sentences in Abdul Ghafur's so-called Dictionary
- LEITNER, G W, LL D—*A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect* Lahore Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880
- LEITNER, G W, LL D—*Selection from the Records of the Punjab Government Section I of Linguistic Fragments discovered in 1870, 1872 and 1879, relating to the dialect of the Magaddas and other Wandering Tribes, the Argots of Thieves, the Secret Trade-dialects and Systems of native Cryptography in Kohat, Kashmir and the Punjab, followed by an Account of Shavel-writing and of the Signs for the Numbers and Colours used in the Manufacture of Shavels as well as by an Analysis of a Shavel pattern, and by four Pages of Shavel writing, illustrated by Drawings of Shavels and by Specimens of Colours chiefly in use in the Punjab and Kashmir* Lahore Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press 1882
- LEITNER, G W, LL D—*Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments Words and Phrases illustrating the dialects of the Some and Me as also of Dancers Mirasis and Doms* Lahore Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R C,—*An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Naqqash or Painters on Papier-mache in the Punjab and Kashmir* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol lxx Part 1, 1884 pp 1 and ff
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R C,—*The Delhi Dalais and their Slang* Indian Antiquary, Vol xiv 1885, pp 155 and ff
- BAILEY, REV T GRAMME, DD—*Notes on Punjab Dialects* Contains I Notes on the Sikh Dialect pp 1 and ff, II The Secret Words of the Qanais, pp 9 and f, III The Argot of Panjabi Gamblers pp 11 and f, IV The Dialect of the Cūhrās, pp 13 and ff Privately printed No date or place of publication
- (KEENEY, M.)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin* Bombay, 1908

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911 It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 28,294 distributed as follows —

Number of speakers at 1911 Census

Ajmer Merwara	209
Bombay	8362
Central Provinces and Berar	2,274
Panjab	5640
United Provinces	1,673
Baroda State	536
Bombay States	2,326
Central India Agency	1097
Hyderabad State	4566
Panjab States	474
Rajputana Agency	456
Other Provinces	681
TOTAL	<u>28,294</u>

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups,

Classification

ordinary dialects and argots The former group comprises Beldāri, Bhamti, Lādi, Ōdhi and Pendhāri, the latter Dōm, Gārodi, Gulgulā Kanjari, Kolhāṭi, Malār, Mvānwāl, Naṭi, Qasāi, Sāsī and Sīkalgārī

The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bili in Vol IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhris, etc See Authorities, above

Within the first of our two groups the Pendhāris in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference Both the Pendhāris and some of the Bhamṭas speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakṣiṇī Hindostānī and Jaipurī Most Bhamṭas, however, speak Telugu Lādi is in all essentials a form of Jaipurī The Ōds are probably related to the Vadars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west The Beldārs are described as a Dravidian caste They usually state that they are Rājpūts, and Dr Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōds The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjāris, Haborās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bili The traditions of both Banjāris and Haborās point towards Rajputana Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, i.e. belong to the so-called Dravidian race Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana Dr Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sāsīs, Kanjars, Nats, and so on, i.e. such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana Thus the Sāsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhān Rājpūts Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanūr was again the ancestor of the Kolhāṭis, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Nats, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana The Sīkalgars of Benares assert that they were originally Rājpūts from Marwar The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishādas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vīra Now Bēnbans is the name of a modern Rājpūt sept, which, according to Dr Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishādas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands The Nishādas were, according to the Aitar̥va Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Mahidhara identifies them with the Bhīllas In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya" It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, i.e. of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular

If we begin with Sāsi, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindōstānī in the East and a mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahārī¹. The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in Marāṭhī. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thō*, the pronouns *ham*, we, *taṁ*, you, remind us of Gujarātī, but also of Western Pahārī. The dialect of the Sāsis is closely related to Kōlhātī. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarātī and Western Pahārī, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of Dukhīnī Hindōstānī, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jabō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthānī dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjarī, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western Pahārī. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in Rājasthānī. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *mō*, he, *yō*, you, verbal suffixes such as *ni*, *gir*, in the present and past, the frequent use of relative participles, the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjarī is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnographically related to the Sāsis and Kōlhātīs, and also to the Habūrās. Just as the latter speak Gujarātī Bhili in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiyā Dōms of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōjpuri of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of Rājasthānī, and the argot of the Dōms in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Nātī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthānī, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Nāts varies very much according to district. Gārōḍī is a mixture of Hindōstānī, Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwālē, while Qaṣāī is based on Hindōstānī, Sīkalgārī on Gujarātī, and Malār on Nagpurī. Gulgulā, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhils, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

¹ Pañjābī is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 2ff., 103ff.

Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhil dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahlāvi, thus *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marāṭhī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rājasthānī and connected with Marāṭhī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rājasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceeding the Rajput invasion been more closely connected with Old Marāṭhī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pallars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwelsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbeseo,' in Spain 'germanía,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot Germanía *gallo*, priest, taken from the Hebrew, *dupa*, ignorant, from the French, *lordilla*, which is derived from *lou*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *lissar* for *vista*, view, *greno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common, compare Rotwelsch *aitze* instead of *hitz*, heart. In the Provençes we find a device of the same character is the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *jauua*, sir, they may say *jau-pau-na-pa* or *jau gau-na gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable, thus *vousdiegue esdregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*, where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable, thus *tu-zum la-hā-jazātīz huzō* for *tum kahā-jātē hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-hu-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *us-hō bulā*, call him. A similar *s language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *asami bosbor desd-bosbo* for *ami bor dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangemar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker, *cafemar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr Leitner,¹ where *mar* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayatan*, dark fortnight, *yatan*, bright fortnight, *sabda*, day, *sagaiā*, night, *yavya*, month, *sumēla*, year (*Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* 1. 7. 2. 25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sūtras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I 5751ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. O. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxv)

² The commentator Nilakanṭha says that this jargon made use of the language of outcastes (*mlechchhas*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjarī, Dōm, Natī, Gārōdī, Myānwālē, Gulguhā, and Sīkalgārī, *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjarī, Natī, Myānwālē, and Sīkalgārī, *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Natī, and Gārōdī, *khau*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Natī, and Sīkalgārī, and so forth Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources The same is most certainly the case in India We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *peimī*, or *chañ*, water, with Tibetan *chhu* The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwalsch warns us to be cautious in such matters Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin Thus we might compare Kanjarī *tu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *lūl*, Sāsī *lōṇā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lau'ā*, Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvālyū*, Kanjarī and Sīkalgārī *pādō*, bull, with Tamil *mādu*, Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *ṭimnu*, Sāsī *pīngī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*, Dōm *kichwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*, Kanjarī *ti*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tin*, Kanjarī *kidō*, gave, with Yerukala *kūd*, Myānwālē *hūcād* (compare Giripārī Sirmāuri *hōṭ*), go, and *barwāḍ*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vara*, come, respectively, Sāsī *baunnā*, Kōlhātī *bōnā*, Natī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*, Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudṛer*, Sāsī *khaulā*, Natī *khōllā*, Sīkalgārī *khōl*, Malār *khau*, house, with Gōlārī *khōlī*, room, Malayālam *kudi*, house, compare Malār *khulsā*, husband, and Yerukala *khulēṭi*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *ṣi* in *tangēi*, sister, Sāsī *tūndā*, Kōlhātī *tande*, Natī *ṭundā*, pig, with Tamil *panṛ*, Sāsī *bnkṇā*, run, with Kurukh *bongā*, Kanjarī, Sīkalgārī *khēḍō*, Qasāi *khēdā*, Kōlhātī *rhēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēdā*, Kōlhātī *hēṭṭi*, wife, with Kanarese *hendatī*, and so forth I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhyas It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Natī, etc, the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots, the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjarī, the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enṛu*, Yerukala *anda*, Sanskrit *sti*, etc, after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India They are then adapted for use by various means of

disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelap*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as Sâsi *kābrā*=*bakrā*, goat, *chōmī*=*mōchī*, shoe-maker, *tīp*=*pēt*, belly, Gārōdī *dabō*=*badō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargari. Thus in Sâsi *kha-kāl*, famine, *dha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *dha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases, thus, Sâsi *khas*=*das*, ten, *ghūkhā*=*bhūlhā*, hungry. In some forms of Natī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-lhā*=*lhēt*, field. In Malār *chahimbahin*=*bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *kh* and *lh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels, the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *gh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials, *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*, and *r* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as Sâsi *lahlgā*=*lahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as Sâsi, Kōlhātī *bāp-tā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafemai*=*café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in Sâsi, Kōlhātī, Natī *ā-sar*, come, and *uar*, *wār*, *bār*, in numerous Kanjari, Dōm, Qasāi, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *l* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in Sâsi, Kōlhātī, Kanjari, Natī, Myānwālē, and so on, additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots, additions such as Dōm *khailā*, Sīkalgāri *khālā*, Kanjarū *ēlō*, Myānwālē *ēlū*, Malār *lu*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

Conclusions

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will see that —

- 1 the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India,
- 2 many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājputs,
- 3 their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

- 4 some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāṭhī than to Rājasthānī ,
- 5 many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects
- 6 these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ,
- 7 the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ,
- 8 a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian , and
- 9 some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāṭhī had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhya, i.e. to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishādas. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhya and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Dōms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājo*, a gentile, *julcl*, dog, and Sāsi *kajjā*, Nati *lājā*, man, Kanjari *jhūli*, Mvānwālī *julclā*, Sāsi *chhukal*, *bhūkal*, Kolhāpī *dhol kal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindostān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

PENDHĀRĪ

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the Pendhārīs are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afgāns, Marāthās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Pendhārī captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēndhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters'.

At the Census of 1911 the number of Pendhārīs was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows —

Central India Agency	4,014
Elsewhere	2,399
TOTAL	<u>6,413</u>

The only district which returned Pendhārī as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts Pendhārī has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens Pendhārī is a mixture of rough Dakhīnī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipurī. Compare *pūtā*, sons, *bāpā*, father, *chhē*, is, *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *nē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend, *māi ūnu*, I beat, where the final *nu* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *lai-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andu*, having said.

{ No 1 }

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHĀRĪ

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHARWAR

Kī-ī ek admī-kū dō pātā ehhē Us-nē-sī nhānā pūt āpnē
Some one man-to two sons were Them in-from younger son own
 bāp-kū holā, 'bāp, mērē hussē-kū āwattō māl-kā bātā mijē dē'
father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share to me give'
 Unē āpnī jindgī un-kū bāt-diyā Thōdō dīn-kē pichehē
By him own property them-to was divided Few days of after
 nhānā sab milī-kē ēk dūr mulak-kū rasta hiyā
by younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken
 Whī unē dhundprāc sē āpnā māl kharāb-kar-diyā Sab
There by-him luxuriousness with own property spoiled-was-made All
 zamā-kē kē angē ō mulak-nē ēk badā dukāl padā Bhī unē
spent-having then that country in one big famine fell And by-him
 garībī-nē rah-gayā Unē ō mulak-kē ēk admī-kē pās
poverty-in it-was lived By-him that country-of one man-of near
 jū-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā Unē isē suwā
gone-having him-to joined-having it-was lived By-him him some
 chārān-kū āpnī khētān-nē bhūj-diyā Ō suwā khānē-kā bhūsē-sī
feeding-for own fields-into it-was sent He some eating-of husks-from
 āpnā pēt bhārān-kī khusī ehhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī
own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone
 diyē nāī Unē huśīr hō-kē, 'mērē bāp-kē kettē
was-given not By-him sensible become-having, 'my father-of how-many
 inajurdāran-kū āpnē-kū has hō-kē jāstī rahē ottē
servants-to themselves-for sufficient become having more remained so much
 rōṭyā rahwē-ehhē Huwā-to-bī mai bhūk-sē marū Mai
bread remained Still I hunger-from die I
 nikal-kē bāp-kē taraf jī-kē usē kahūgā, "arē bāp,
gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, "O father,
 mai tūcē āmnē bhī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā Is-kē angē
by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was done This of after
 tērā pūt kawū-lūnē-kū mai lāyakh nāī Tērē majūri-kē jawānan-nē ēk
thy son being-called-for I worthy not Thy hire-of servants-in one

kar-kē mujē bī iakh," kar-kō bolū,' kar-kō bol-iyā
made-having me also keep," said-having may-say,' said-having it-was-said.
 Uth-kē āpnē bāp-kanē āyā Chhīto unē abī rastā lhai
Arisen-having own father-near came But for-him still way much
 dūr chhī-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having me ev applied-having
 nbāt-kē jā-kē galē mil-kō usē mukhā dya
run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him his was-given
 Pūt usē, 'bāp Allā-kō uppar bhī terī ākhī-kō imonē mai gunhā
Son to him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes of before by me sin
 karā Ab augē kadī-bī mar tērā pūt kawa-hyē arīka nāī,'
was done Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'
 kar-kē bōlā Chhīto-bī bāp-nē ipuē mar-kar-lokā-kū, 'lhai chōkot
said-having said Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good
 jhagē-kū bhār lakā-kē usē pirī bhī us-kē hāt-kū anguti
coat out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring
 bhā-kē pāw-kū pāpsā dēō Bhī haman khī-kē khusī-sē
put-having feet-on shoes give Ind we eaten having happily
 rhañ Kāy-kayē-tō ē mērī pūt mar-gravī chhī-to, phir-kē
should-stay Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again
 jītā huwā, gayā-chhā-tō, phir-kō milī,' kar-kē bōlā Bhī
alive became, gone-was, again was-found,' said-having it-was-said And
 unan khusī kar-nē lāgē.
they merry to-make began

PENDHARI

SPECIMEN II

DISTRICT BELGAUM

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Dhūp Heat	kāl-nē time-at	ēk one	kōlā fox	bahut much	pyās thirst	lāg-kē felt-being	jāngal-nē wood-in	phir-kē rambling
pānī water	dhundā, searched,	lēkin but	kā-bī anywhere	naī not	mīlā it-was-found	dēkh-kē seen-having	agādī-kā future-of	dōngā deep
thaddē-nē pit-in	thōdā a-little	pānī water	khād-rākē standing	bich-nē the-midst-in	hūdā he-jumped	Whā There	dhyan thought	naī not
kar-kē made-having	us-kē it-of	phir-kē again	uppar up	ānē kū coming-for	wāstē for-the-sake	chintā thinking	khūb much	pānī water
pī-kē di un-k-having	Uṣē To-that	raṣtā-ch way	naī not	chhī, was,	ō-sabab (for-)that-reason	whā-ch there-indeed	karā was-made	tatt-kē being-in a-fix
khād-rā-kē standing	lhai much	phikīr anxiety	karā was-made	ā-kē coming	Ottē-nē-ch That-much-in	ek one	tagar goat	wō ch that-very
rāstē-sī road-from	pyās thirst	lāg-kē felt-being	kōlā for	bā, father,	khaddē-nē pit-in	kōlē-kū fox	dēkhā it-was-seen	Tab Then
ō that	tagar, goat,	'hō 'O	kisē to-anybody	naī not	tū thou	lāi much	sānā, clever,	haman ice
lāg-kē felt-being	maran, die,	pinū, drinkest,	achchhā, well,	naī not	mālum known	har-kē made-having	tū thou	sab all
ā-kē coming	pānī water	kar-kē saying	pūchhā, asked	Uṣē To-that	rhan-dē, be let,	maī I	bī too	tallē down
pāpī water	kaī how	chhē, is ?	bōlū ? may-I-say ?	Ē This	Uṣē To-that	kōlā, fox,	'dōs, 'friend,	'dōs, how-much
mittā sweet	kar-kē saying	āyā, camest,	bahut much	chakōt good	huwā, became,	agadi quite	amir nectar	sarkā like
Tū Thou	kōn-tō-bī anyone-else	āy-tō comes-if	tujē to-thee	mulnē-kē getting-of	pānī water	ā-kē coming	pānī water	pī, drink,
phasānē-kī sunning-of	bāt word	sun-kē heard-having	wō that	diwānā silly	naī, not,	kar-kē saying	bōlā said	Ē This
					tagar goat	tallē down	kudi-mār-kē jumped-having	

अप-त	प-त	बिच-ल	पान	पिया	पिछिह-स	उपर	आने-कु
from	fell,	joined-l	water	was-drunk	Afterwards	up	coming-for
उपर	उ	दोन	मिल-ल	बहुत	वक़्त	पिछिह	करा
under	those	both	joined-l	much	time	anxiety	was-made

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed, we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down, how is the water?’

Upon this the fox said,—‘Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happens to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

BHĀMTĪ

The Bhāmtās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmtās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

They do not lead a gipsy life but settle in some village from which their gangs start on their thieving expeditions.

They are known under several different names such as *Ganthachōrs*, *Uchhās*, *Vadarīs*, and so forth. The home tongue of most of them is Vadarī, a debased form of Telugu.¹ They also speak Marāthī, Hindōstānī, and Kanarese. In speaking Kanarese they drop their 'h's'. The home language of some of the Ganthachōrs of the Bijapur District is Kanarese. Those of Nagpur in the Central Provinces speak a broken mixture of Dakhīnī Hindōstānī and Jaipur Rājasthānī. Only fourteen speakers of this Bhāmtī were reported from the Central Provinces. As the Bhāmtās of elsewhere speak Telugu, I do not further refer to them. It is hardly worth while giving examples of the others. As, however, some good specimens have been received, I give a portion of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and a folktale received from Nagpur.

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmtās which I have seen are in pp 464 and ff of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp 3 and ff of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp 16 and ff of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

¹ See above, Vol IV, pp 607ff

[No 3]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTI

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR

Koī-āk ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē Ūs-mā-kā nānā pōrvā
A certain man-to two sons were Them-in-of the younger son
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, 'us-mē-kā mō-kō mūrā hissā dē' Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give' Then him-by
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kō dūr dēs garā-chhē Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went And
 wahā jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered And all
 kharch-nē-kē bād us dēs-mē bādā kāl padā-chhē Ibē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell Thereby
 us-kō bipat padī-chhē Ibē ō kāl us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kō
him-to want befell Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jaurē rahā-chhē. Ūs-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē dukar charānē-kō
near remained Him-by him-to his-own field-in squire feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē Ibē dukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed Then the-squire-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiya chhē Kōī-nē us-lō kāl-nā diyā chhē
thought made-was Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was

[No 4.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ek Birbal-kā bētā chhā, ek rājā-kā bētā chhā Un-kī badi
One Birbal of son was, one king-of son was Them-of great
 dostī rahē Doī-kā dil ek chhā Un-nē kahā kē,
friendship existed Both-of mind one was Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāyko dusrō-kē ghar
'chose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 pathāw-nā ' Bidsāhā-kē hētē-kā bihāw pahilē huā Us-kī
is-to-be-sent ' The-king-of son-of marriage first became His
 barit badē dhūm-su āi-chhī Phir us-kū ek bistar-par
marriage-procession great pomp-with came Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād āi-chhī Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
become-having friend-of recollection came Then he his-own wife-to
 kahi-chhī kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kō yahñ jā-kō āw, mērā
said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come, my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhī ' O phēr Birbal-kē yahñ hāt-mō pachārtī
promise become-is ' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kē gai-chhē Us-kū raste-mā chār chōr milē-chhē Us-kā
taken-having went Her-to street-in four thieves met Her
 sab dāginā utārē-rahī Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mēra
all ornaments taking-off-they-were Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 dāginā kā utārē-chhē ? Mē kō Birbal-kō hā-sō ā-jān-dē,
ornaments why art-taking-off ? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come ;
 phir mēra sab dāginā utar-lē ' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'ya bi
then my all ornaments take-off ' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kahī-chhī ' Yēk chor wahā buihā Tin chor gayē chōri
well said ' One thief there sat Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū Phir yā gai Birbal-kē yahñ Biral-nē us-kō
committing-for Then she went Birbal's here Birbal-by her-as-to
 dekhi-chhī Palang-par bathāi-chhē Bathā-kē apnē dil-mē
she-was-seen A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'badsāhī sāhnē-bi ' uttēhi chhē aur gawār-bi
consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

uttēhī chhē, kē apnī śēj-kī bāykō mērē yahā pathāi-chhē '
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is '

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē dīn ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou

bhān huī-chhē Wō mērā bahinōi huwā ' Wajīr-nē
sister become-art He my brother-in-law became ' The-minister-by

us kō lugdā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur aohchhē bhārī pāch dāginē
her-to a veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments

diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā ' Bāi rastē-sū chālī
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go ' The-lady the-street-by went

Ek chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was Him-to the-lady-by it was-said, 'my

sab dāginē utār-lē Mē-kō pāch dāginē jāstī milē-chhē '
all ornaments take-off Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.

Utti bāt-chūt hō rahī-chhē tō tīn chōr āyē-chhē Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came Them-to

aīsī chōrī milī-chhē kō sāt pidhī khāyē tō
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then

sarē-nā Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-would-be-exhausted-not The-thieves by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall

bēs lagā Ham-kū chōrī khub milī-chhē Tō ham sū
good has been-proved Us-to theft great obtained-was Therefore us-from

pāch dāginē lē-lē ' Chōr-nē pāch dāginē diyē-chhē Phir
five ornaments take ' The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were Then

bādsāhā-kē jōrē āi-chhē Bādsāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

ohār-mā kis-kā badā chhē ? '
the-four-among whose great is ?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

There was once a Prime Minister named Birbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. The two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Birbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Birbal's house, carrying in her hand the five lustre-lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all her ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Birbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approve of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

So she went on to Birbal's house. Birbal, as soon as he saw her, made her rest upon a bed and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool, for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own bed.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband. Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and some valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

¹ The story is false. It should be a story of a man who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with the story.

BELDĀRĪ

Bēldār literally means one who works with the *bāl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Bēldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows —

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,398
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	26,378
Elsewhere	3,787
TOTAL	205,420

The majority of these Bēldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Bēldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Bēldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Bēldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Bēldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows —

Rajputana, Jaisalmer State	100
Berar—	
Amraoti	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	<hr/>
	1,885
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,500
Satara	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
" " State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghurs	200
	<hr/>
	3,155
TOTAL	5,140

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Bēldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmer State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Bēldārī is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Ōdkī it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marāṭhī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēḷē*, sons (Ramdurg), *nādē*, tanks (Jaisalmir), *daūs*, to a father (Buldana), *mansān*, to a man (Ramdurg), *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg), the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sū*, from a direction (Jaisalmir), *uthand-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur), the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth. Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons, *chhōḷō*, small (Ellichpur), *ghōḷō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kuttā*, dog, compare also *ghōrē*, horses, *ghōṛiyā*, mares), the dative suffixes *-nē* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir), *-nā*, *nū* (Jaisalmir), *-lē* (Buldana) and *-lu* (Ellichpur), compare Mālvi *-nē*, *-kē*, *-kū*, the genitive suffix *-lō*, *-lā*, *-li* (Ellichpur, Buldana), compare Mēwātī, Jaipurī and Mālvi *-lō*, *-lī*, the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sū*, compare Mālvi *-sē*, *-sū*, the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*, forms such as *marū*, I die, *kahū*, I may say (Ellichpur), *mai ē-hē*, I am dying (Jaisalmir), *kahus*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Oriyā, and the common *mōi*, *mōi a*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars. The chief components of Bēldārī are, however, of the same kind as in Ōdkī. With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement, thus the pronoun *tudā*, thy, conjunctive participles such as *kaiti*, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form *mēi ē-lu*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakṣiṇī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-kē*, with the same meaning.

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details. The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur. It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Bēldārī of Ellichpur.

[No 5]

GIPSY LANGUAGES

BELDĀRĪ

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR

Ēk admī-kē dō pōryā bhayē Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā hāpē
One man-of two sons were Them-in-of younger by-son father-to
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō hisā avē, ō mōhū dē'
it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give'
 Phir ō-na sampat bāt-kē dī Phir thōdē dīn-mē chhōtō
Then him-by property dividing was-given Then few days-in small
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dū dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē
son all together having-made for country-in went, there him-by
 uthandpanā-sē aplō paisā udā dīvō Ō-nē sab kharchē-par
riotousness-in own money wasting was-given Him-by all spent-on
 ōnē mulak-mē bahōr dubāl padō, ō-nē paisā-kī rdchan padan
that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of want to-fall
 lāgi Phir ōnē dēs-kē ēk gūha-kē jōrē jā-kē
began Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
 rahyō, ō-nē ōhē āpnē khēt-mē dukai charā-nē bhējō Tab
stayed, him-by him own fields-in swine feeding-for was-sent Then
 dukar jō tarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt, bhar-nō,
swine which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,
 asī ō-kē man-mē āi, ō-nē kachhu kōhī dīdā nahī
thus his mind-in came, him-to anything by-anyone was-given not
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bāp-kī kittē rōjdār-ku
Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 bharpūr rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū Me uth-kē āpnē
richly bread is, and I hunger-from die I having-arisen own
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ōhē kahū, "ē dādā, mē dēw-kē
father-of near may-go and to-him may say, "O father, by-me God-of
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karē Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kahnē
near and thy in-sight sin was-done Now from thy son to say
 lāvak mī nahiyā Ek mahindār sarikō mērē-ku rakh' "
worthy I not-am One servant like me keep' "

The next specimen hails from Buldana It is of the same kind as the preceding.
 It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem
 to be quite accurate I give the text as I have received it

[No 6]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn	ēk	duhi	lāwdā	hōtā	Dunun-mē-sē	lahānā	
Some	one(-of)	two	sons	were	Both-in-from	by-younger-one	
daūs	kahlā,	'daū,	mōrē	hissā-kī	jugī	ma-kē	dē'
father-to	it-was-said,	'father,	my	share-of	property	me-to	give'
Mhanūn	daū-na	jugī	dunun-kē	bāt	dī	Thōra	din-mē
Therefore	father-by	property	both-to	dividing	was-given	Few	days-in
lahānā	āpli	jugī	lē-kan	dusrē	gāw-pē	gēla	Yā-sē
small-one	own	property	having-taken	other	village-to	went	This-from
gēla	āpna	jugī	chain-se	udāi	Yē	ritī-sē	pausa
went	own	property	merry-making-in	was wasted	This	way-in	money
chain-mē	udāē,	mang	badā	kāl	gira	Kāl	gīrla
merry-making-in	were-wasted,	afterwards	big	famine	fell	Famine	fell
mhanjē	pañchāl	gīrla	Khāē-kē	mang	jāy-kūn	dusrē-kē	
then	difficulty	fell	Eating-for	begging	having-gone	another-of	
gharē	raha	Wō-nē	dukhar	rākhē-kē	dharī	Wō-kō	gharē
in-house	remained	His-by	swine	tending-for	was-kept	His	in-house
kōndā	dukhar-kā	khācl	u-ch	āpnē	kōndā	khācl	dēcl tar pēt
husks	swine-of	ate	that-even	him-by	husks	ate	gave then belly
bharēl,	wuhi	ō-nē	diil	nahī	Yē-lartā	ākh	ughad gayī,
filled,	that-even	him-to	was-given	not	This-for	eyes	opened went,
tab	āpnē-kē	kah	lagā,	'āpna	dāū-kē	jōd	naukar pausā
then	himself-to	to-say	began,	'own	father-of	near	servants money
ur-kan	purī,	mī	yāsā	upāsī	marna	Āb	jā-kan
being-to-spare	was-filled,	I	this-like	by-hunger	die	Now	having-gone
dāū-kē	kahus,	"dāū,	dēw-kā	tōra	aprādh	fār	mē-nē karē
father-to	will-say,	"father,	God-of	of-thee	sin	much	me-by was-done
Mī	tōra	lāwdā	hōv-kan	lēā-kā	dayā	nihē	Tē āpnā majur
I	thy	son	having-become	taking-of	mercy	not	Thou own servant
sārkhā	bagā''	Asē	vichār	kar-kan	āpnē	dāū-kē	attē
like	consider''	So	consideration	made-having	own	father-of	near
āla	Wō	ātā-ch	dūr-sē	dāū-nē	dekhē,	wō kē	dayā āil,
came	He	coming	far-from	father-by	was-scen,	him-to	mercy came,
āpnē	lāwdā-kē	garē-mē	hāt	dālī,	wō-nē'	mukā	lēī
own	son-of	neck-on	hands	were-ths own,	him-by	kisses	were-taken

Lāwdā dāū-kē kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra badā aprādh
Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin
 karē Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā nahī ' Dāū-nē
was-made Now thy son come-to my mercy not ' Father-by
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngthī, pāw-mē panhī dārī
best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes were-put.
 Āpnē chākar-sē kahī, āndī kahyalā, 'āj āpan
Own servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we
 khāē-piē-kē chain karē, kāran āj mōra lāwdā
having-eaten-and-dunk merriment may-make, because to-day my son
 marēl, asē samjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla, 1b wō āj
died, thus thinking I-was, he to-day back came, and he to-day
 gēla, tē 'sāpadla' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē
went, he was-found' Then all joy to-make began

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmer State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Bēldārs in the rainy season, the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Hōli festival. The Bēldārī of Jaisalmer is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *mānsā-chē*, of a man, *dēsā-chē*, of a country, *Rāmā chē*, of God, *kuttā*, a dog, occur in other Jaisalmer specimens. The general nature of the Bēldārī of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[No 7]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARĪ

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN I.

Kālōri kalhyān umatti, ālā mhī, bharlē nādē nādiyē bharlē
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled

Bhīm talāw

Bhīm tank

Sātā sālā-chē jhūlrē gēli pānī talāw, sāt sahlā pūthi
Seven female-friends of in-company went water tank, seven friends back

bhartī gēli, hēkalrī rēli talāw
having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank

Pachchham dīshā-sū ōthī ālā
Western direction-from camel-rider came

‘Bījō sahlā rē kājal tībhlā, tudē kḥ bringē
Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty

besh ”

dress ?

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basī, mājō basē pardēs’
Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwells abroad’

‘Gharā patak-dē talā-mā, ā māchī lārē’
Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jabān, māē nākhā sēmpī lūn’
I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt’

‘Hak ōthī mānā kahō, māri sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchī
One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me

lār”’ ‘Kē sarikā phūtrā, kē-chē unār?’

with”’ ‘What like beautiful, whose features?’

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūtrā, māchī nandal-chē unār’
My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband’s-sister-of features’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jibri, tudā parṇō-rā bhartār’
I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhīm tank are filled

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank

Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her —

‘The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads Why is your dress dirty?’

(She replied—)

‘The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad’

(Then he said—)

‘Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me’

(She replied—)

‘I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it’

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

‘A camel *sōvāṇī* said to me, O mother-in-law, “come along with me”’

(The mother-in-law asked—)

‘How did he look and what were his features like?’

(She replied—)

‘He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband’s sister’

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

‘I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband’

[No. 8]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ

STATE JAISALMER

SPECIMEN II.

Har uth milti-kē Bharat bhāū, Har ālā
Har *having-arisen* *having-embraced* *Bharata* *brother,* *Har* *came*
 uth milti-kē
having-arisen *having-embraced*

Bāh pasāti millē dun bhāū, nēnā-mā nir ralakti
Arms *having-extended* *embraced* *both* *brothers,* *eyes-in* *water* *rolling*
 ālā
came.

‘Kē nī rē bhāū ban-khanda-chyā bātā, kēri kēri bipat
 ‘*Sayst* *not* *O* *brother* *woods-of* *tales,* *what* *what* *mishap*
 bhugattī ālā’
having-suffered *camest*’

‘Ban phal khāelā pān bichhāelā, ēri ēri bipat
 ‘*Forest* *fruits* *were-eaten* *leaves* *were-spread,* *such* *such* *mishap*
 bhugattī ālā’
having-suffered *came*’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears

(Bharata asked) ‘Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest, what kind of troubles you had to undergo?’

(Rāma said) ‘The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured’

The Bēldārī of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration

[No 9]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRI

STATE RAMDURG

Ekē bā-nē dōn bētē hlall Vē-chī nēnkē bētē-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were Them-of younger son-by father to
 kēlē, 'jungānī-ma mana bātnī da' Dō-janī bētēyān bātnī
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give' Two-persons sons-to shares
 kartī dīli Kāi-ēk danāt nēnkā-nē saglī jundgī hlīlī
making were-given Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 gītī lambē mulkān gēlā Uda jātī manān wātal jō-pār
having-taken far country-to went There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dain kēlī Uda jātī kāl padlā Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done There going famine fell Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōt chintam padlā Vē mulkā-mē ēkē mānsān jātī vē mānsāē
great anxiety fell That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn malhī gītī vē mānsā-nē dukrē rākhnē-nā mellā Vē
him appointing taking that man by some keeping-for was-sent That
 baktān vēn dukar khānyā-chō jinnas-jōku dēkhun mlal nahī
time-at him-to some eaten husks even was-got not

ÔDKI

The Ôds are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers, in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Ôds returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows —

Madras	550,109
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,639
Mewar	10,897
Total	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ôd* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *odda*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *odde*, drudgery, *odderāndlu*, tank diggers. As most Ôds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vādāras.

The majority of the Ôds, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ôds. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was —

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
Total	2,814

Specimens of Ôdkī have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabad District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Ôds of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating¹ that 'the earth-workers called Od or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated'. The Ôds were probably from the

¹ Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137.

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōds of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,¹ their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows —

Ahmedabad	1,266
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Panch Mahals	461
Surat	53
Cambay	200
Cutch	188
Kathiawar	959
Mahikantha	106
Palanpur	491
Rewa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,549
Shikarpur	1,338
Thar and Parkar	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Khairpur	278

TOTAL	<u>10,571</u>
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It will be seen that the Ōds were practically restricted to districts where Gujarātī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ōdkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ōds have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ōds of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ōdkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp 178ff will give a good idea of the nature of the Marāṭhī affinities. dialect. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ẽ* as in Marāṭhī, compare *talē*, tank, *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*, thus, *ghōi ā*, horse, *ghōi ē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *i* of feminine bases, thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country, *leikē-chē*, of a man, *mallatī-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs, thus, *gēlā*, went, *mālā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*, thus, *āvā*, come, the infinitives in *ũ* and *ñē*, thus, *kēhũ*, to say, *mārnē*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

¹ No similar return is available for 1911

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population

Several of the usual terminations in Ōdkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi, the ablative in *tī*, the locative in *mā*, forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarātī, Mālvi and Mārṡārī *hē*), *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is, the conjunctive participle is *linē* (Gujarātī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarātī element is strongest in Gujarātī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarātī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārṡārī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarātī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *d* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh, the Pañjābī dative termination *nū* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarātī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[No 10]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖDKI

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS

Ēk guchī-nē dōn chhōydē salē Nē dhāydē chhōydē bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō nē dē' Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give' And by-him
 puñji wahēchti dēli Nē thōdēk dan pachhi dhāydā
property having-divided was-given And few days after the-younger
 chhōydā badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē padē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 rang-bhōg kartīnē pōtāchī puñji udadtī dēli,
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given
 Nē ōnē badhē kharahtī nākhlē tyāi-pachhi ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 motē dukāl padlā nē ōnē badī tankśāl padwā lāgli Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began And he
 jātīnē ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē padē rēhlā
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhundōnē chārlē-sāru ōnē mōkallā Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent And
 jō sīngā bhundā khātīgē ō-mā-thī pōtā-chē pēt bharlē-sāru ōnī
which hushs swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichēhā salī Nē kēnī ōnē dēlē nahī Nē ō sāvchit
wish was And by-anyone him-to was-given not And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how many servants-to
 pushkal badā chhē, pan hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē, hē-tō uthtīnē
plenty bread is, but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am, I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē padē jai, nē ōnē kahī kē, "hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, "O father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhi āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē, nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is, and this-in your
 chhōydā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā, ma-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to be-called fit I not-am, me you servants-in-of one-of
 jasā gan'' Nē ō uthtīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē padē gēlā Nē ō
like count'' And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went And he

tadhī	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhī	āgnā	m̃	kadi
thy	service	doing	am,	and	thy	commandment	by-me	ever
ōlangli		na-thi,	tō-pan	mā-chō	mitrawā-sāthō	khuṣī	karlō	
transgressed		not-was,	still	my	friends-with	pleasure	making	
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	bākrō	pan	kadi	dōlō	nī-thī	Pan
for	by-thee	me-to	a-kind	even	ever	given	not-was	But
ā	tadhā	chhōydā	ōnī	tadhī	puṣjī	kasabēnō-che	hāthī	
this	thy	son	by-him	thy	property	harlots-of	with	
gamātī		nākhli		ōnā	āwtī	tē	ō-chī-sāru	nwaḷ
squandered		was-thrown-away		he	coming	by-thee	him-for	good
jyāfat	karli'	Nē	ōnī		kclē	kē,	' chhōydā,	
a-feast	was-done'	And	by-him		it-was-said	that,	' son,	
tū	māchī-sāthē	mtī	chhō,	nē	māchī	saghlō	tadhō	
thou	me-of-with	always	art,	and	my	all	thine	
chhē	Āplē-tō	khuṣ	anō		nāljo	tathā	harakh	
is	Our-undeed	pleased	to-become		is-proper	and	merriment	
karnā	nāljo	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	martī		
to-make	is-proper	Because	this	thy	brother	having-died		
gēlālā,	nō	pharatī	jīwtā	halā	chhī,	nē	gamātī	
was-gone,	and	again	alive	become	is,	and	lost	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jadlā	chhē'				
was-gone,	and	he	found	is'				

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the Rās Mālā,¹ came from Malwa with a number of Ōds in order to dig the Sahasraling Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōds.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

¹ Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I 111ff.

[No II]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKI

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD

Sadrāō Jēsaugē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāō Jaisingh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
 khantinē pānīvā-thī rāt-kī-rāti-māy talē bhar-dē' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dāū' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhān
that, 'on-third day fill will-give' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōdtinē kargarli kē, 'bāi, hāy atnī kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
 mā-nē khōwād' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, pan
me cause-to-loose' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puthē waltinē dēkhō nahī' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dēlē Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhān ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
 bhīgī halī Jāhmāē anī kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar
joined became Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
 puthā wal' Sadrāwē asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār
back turn' Siddhrāō by thus it-was said that, 'I thy way leave
 nītā' Tārē bāū dhartī mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am' Then the woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
 mā, hī satī hōi, tō tū bhēgī mā jā' Dharti bhēgī
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go' Earth together
 halī Tō Sadrāō rād khēchū mādlā Pachhē Sadrāō bōllā
became Then Siddhrāō cry to raise began Afterwards Siddhrāō said
 kē, 'tū māchhī hān chhē' Jāhmā bōlli kē, 'tadhā ganā māf
that, 'thou my sister is' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
 chhē, pan tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē' Pachhē Jāhmā
is, but thy offspring not remains' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtinē badhē ōdā-nē malli Pachhē ō
to-Khalikhōlwādē having-come all Ōds-to was-joined Afterwards that
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōdtinē asē bōlli kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sun-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 narvēdlē, pan māchī tachli āgaliē jētnē rūp kōi ōdā-chi dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Ōd-of girl-to
 nā dīō'
not give'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River¹ and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank Then Siddhrāj came to Jāsmā and joined her Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāj said that he would not desist from pursuing her Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you' Then the Earth came close to her Siddhrāj raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not remain' Then Jāsmā went to Khālikholwad and joined the Ōds Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ōd girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger'

According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ō's there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*, thus, *dēwā*, give, *dādī*, grandmother, *dī*, day

¹ A name of the river Sarasvatī, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean

² A village near Modhera, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ōds

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKĪ

CUTCH STATE

- ‘ Āwā, bēsā, Rām-Rām Tamō kathē-thī āwā sawā ? ’
‘ Come, sit, Rām-Rām You where-from come are ? ’
- ‘ Hē Chaprērī-tī āvē sē ’
‘ I Chaprērī-from coming am ’
- ‘ Warsāti-mē tamī ghanē hērān halē sawā Tamā sārū
‘ Rain-in you much troubled become are You for
 sigrī karū ? Thōī wār tāphā tō tamō-nē
fire shall-I-make ? Little time you-will-warm-yourselves then you-to
 sukh havī Tamā sārū kāl rasōī karāvē ? ’
comfort will-be You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made ? ’
- ‘ Mācchē i tănē kāl khāwō naitē ’
‘ Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted) ’
- ‘ Sāw kāl khālē vīgar chālē ? Thōrē ghanē jū
‘ Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do ? Little much what
 bhāvē sū khāwā ’
may-please that eat ’
- ‘ I-mā tō ma-nē tras lāgli sē Pānī pīwū
‘ This-in indeed me-to this st joined is Water to-drink
 dēwā ’
give ’
- ‘ Tam-chē lūgrē thōrīk wār tirkē sūkwū mēlē ? ’
‘ Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put ? ’
- ‘ Bhalē, mēlā ’
‘ Well, put ’
- ‘ Tamā sārū kāl rasōī karāvē ? ’
‘ You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made ? ’
- ‘ Mē tamā-nē kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāī lāgli. ’
‘ By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got ’
- ‘ Thōrīk khichrī nē bār khātī ghēwā ’
‘ Little khichrī and bread eating take ’
- ‘ Tam-chī marjī sē ta bhalē, karāwā ’
‘ You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared ’
- ‘ Tam-chē gharē badhē-y rājī-khusī sī ? ’
‘ Your in-house all happy-glad are ? ’

'Badhē-y thik sī, pan māchī dādi parmā
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
 martī gēlī'
dying went'

'Tē-nē kāi halēlō ?'

'Her-to what had-happened ?'

'Chār dī tāw ālā'

'Four days fever came.'

'Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēh halē sī ?'

'Your field-in crops how become are ?'

'Ōn warsād jhājhā halā naitā, tē-thī jhājhē halē naitē'

'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not'

'Tā dhagē-chē kitrē nānē dūl ?'

'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given ?'

'Ma-nē sārē chār sū kōriā bēshā'

'Me-to with-a-half four hundred lōris were-expended'

'Tē dhagē tamī vēchā ?'

'These bullocks you will-sell ?'

'Pūrē nāpē dēwā tō vēchīn ?'

'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell'

'Tamā-nē hē tīn sū kōriā diē'

'You-to I three hundred lōris may-give'

'Tīn sū kōriā-mā kāi vēchā ?'

'Three hundred lōris-in what can-they-be-sold ?'

'Hē jāpē sē kē dhagē mōtē sī Sū itri kīmat

'I knowing am that bullocks old are That so-much price

ghaṇī sē.

much is'

'Tam-chī dhūi-chā vīwā kiē mainē-mē karā ?'

'Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do ?'

'Māchī dādi-chī warsī warti raigē tē wāsē

'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after

karī ?'

I-shall-do ?'

'Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nujti rēwā'

'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain'

'Nā, māchē sāji Dhrang pōchnē sē'

'No, mine to-night Dharang coming is'

'Pachhē-warī kē dī am-chē gharē āw jā'

'Again some day our to-house come'

'Khāsē, Rām-Rām, i-mē hē jāī'
 'Well, Rām-Rām, now I will-go'
 'Tam-ehē gharē badhū-nē Rām-Rām kējā.'
 'Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

'Come and take a seat Welcome Whence are you coming?'

'I am coming from Chapreri'

'You must have been much troubled by the rain Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable What food may I order for you?'

'I do not now want any food'

'It won't do that you should not take any food Take only as much as you like'

'Just now I am thirsty Give me water to drink'

'Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?'

'Yes, if you please'

'What food shall I order to be prepared for you?'

'I have told you that I am not hungry'

'Just take a little *khichrī* and bread'

'If that be your wish, get it prepared'

'Are all well in your house?'

'All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday'

'What was the matter with her?'

'She had fever for four days'

'How are the crops in your field?'

'There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much'

'What did you pay for these bullocks?'

'I paid four hundred and fifty *kōrīs*'

'Will you sell these bullocks?'

'I will if you give a good price'

'I will pay three hundred *kōrīs*'

'How can they be sold for three hundred *kōrīs*?'

'I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price'

'In what month are you going to have your daughter married?'

'I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother's death is over'

'Rest in our house to-night'

'No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset'

'Come to our house some other day'

'Very well Adieu I am off now'

'Give my compliments to all in your house'

The dialect of the Ōds of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ōds of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhi, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāṭi-jō*, of the night, *ghōr-karānu*, house-doing, hawking, *mājō*, my, and so on. The Pānjābī termination of the dative *nā* has already been mentioned, compare *khurī-nā*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz *māi hē*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat, plur 1 *mārkhā*, 2 *mārkhā*, 3 *māi hē*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *lōnī*, not (lit *lō nī*, not at all), compare *lāhī āē-nā* *lō-dinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave, *lō-dēlā-nī*, didst not give.

[No. 13.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKĪ

DISTRICT HYDERABAD

Mai sākhe pari kahē Mājō nā ohhō Hashū Mājē bā-jū
I oath on state My name is Hashū My father-of
 nā Thadā Mai Hindū-dharam ohhō, luhānā ohhō Mājā pōrihā
name Thadā I Hindū am, luhānā am My profession
 ghōr-karanu ohhē. Mājī umuri chālīsī baras ohhē Mai Hadrābādī
hatching is My age forty years is I Hyderabad
 gūū Hadrābādī taulkē Hadrābādī jillē bāhūlē Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in talūga Hyderabad in-district live My complaint
 ohhē Wasanmalā-par Subhānō hēkē bajō rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on Yesterday one when-sleep night-of
 tikānē-mī jīlē Gharē bātō ūparī dodī-hatu chhūlē
abode(-of-a-faqir)-in went Home way on curds seller-shop was
 Ū-kaddhū dūdm ghēlē Ūlē jawābudār ālā, ālē sū mājī
That-from curds were-taken There' accused came, come on my
 sāji khurī-nū thudā mārā Māi u-nū kahūlē, 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-sleep By-me him-to it was-said, 'why
 ādhā hulā-hē ' Jak ī-māthō ma-nū lugāī ā dhū-parī gālī
blind become-art? ' This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dūhūā, thāshā olār-tē larnē-kū ālā Māi dailā, nastī-patā
were given, blow having-threatened fight-to came I feared, far-off
 hulā Hōtū Nārū Rījhū vichhū achhī-parlē Tadhī jawābdāra
became Hōtū Nārū Rījhā between came Then accused-by
 basī-karī, na-ta ma-nū mūrē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made, otherwise me would-have-sleep Accused-with formerly
 mājī dushmanī kōnī
my enemy not

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath My name is Hāshū and my father's name is Thadā I am a Hindū by religion, and I am a Lohānā My profession is hawking My age is forty years I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Hyderabad *talūqa*, Hyderabad District My complaint is against Wasanmal Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqir On my way home I passed a curds-seller's shop, and there I bought some curds There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight I became afraid and stood far off Hōtū, Nārū and Rīghū intervened, and then the accused desisted Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused.

Specimens of Ödkī have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ödkī illustrated in the preceding pages The co-rebrahation of *d* in *dō*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahā-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhī There are also some Panjābī reminiscences such as *randē-nā*, to the wife, *bā-dā*, of a father On the whole, however, the Ödkī of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarātī districts,—a mixture of Marāthī and Gujarātī-Rājasthānī The form *huttā*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marāthī *hōtā*

[No 14]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖDKI.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH

Hek bādshāh huttā Ō chē gharē ōlād kāi na huttī Ō
One King was His in-house offspring any not was He
 apnā bādshāhī chhōr-hitī o hek roz mīrgā ūpar nīti bēlā Fakīr
one Kingdōm lost he one day way on going sat Fakīr
 jurti-kē dhuñ ghattī belā Hek rōz jhund fakīrā-chā ālā
losing turned spoke making sat One day group faqīrs-of came
 Ō nē kehle, 'tū cphē mīrgī-par kahñ bēlā?' Bādshāh
Told by it-was-said, 'thou this way on why sittest?' By-the-King
 kehle, 'amī mahā km kahī na pūchha' Fakīrē
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask' The-faqīrs-by
 kehle, 'amī puchhñ' Bādshāh kehle jō, 'māchē gharē
it-was-said, 'me ask' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 ōlād kū mahī?' Fakīrē kehle, 'dō tapīsc chhit
offspring any not-is?' The-faqīrs by it-was-said, 'two secrets be-cak
 Hek ip khī, hek apnē randē-nū khullā Vi-nū hēk pūt paidā
One self eat, one own wife to cause-to-eat Her-to one son borne
 hōwē, mātthē-par chñd hōwē, chīchī-par tārā hōwē
will-be, forthead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be'
 Bādshāh-chē gharē put jāhī Ō-chē gharē dō randā hutayā,
King of in-house son was-borne His in-house two wives were,
 jisc mōtī huttī, vi-chē gharē pūt jamñ-palā Jissi dhāri rand
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got Which younger wife
 huttī, vi-nē bithāri-nū kehle, 'ē bār gñtī dē'
was, her-by midwife to it-was-said, 'this child killing give'
 Bithāri chhij kolū-chē bharti-kō vi-chē gōdhñ mchilti gēli Bār
Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went Child
 chattī-kē rūri-par nāk-ti āli Bādshāh-nū
having-carried manure-heap on having-thrown returned King-to
 kehle, 'tadhya randē kolē jālē' Kuttī bhullī
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-foth' Bitch standing
 bādshāh chī huttī, bārā-nū chattī chālī apnē bhāwarē-mē
king-of was, child having-carried went own put-in
 nittī nāklē Hek dō sāl gurrē Ū bār rūñ lāglē
going was-thrown One two years passed That child to-cry began

Bādshāhzādī-nū	pattā	lāglā	‘Ē	bāiā-nū	marātī	nāklā	Kuttī
Queen-to	news	was-got	‘This	child	killing	throw	Bitch
bhullī	sunlē	Bār-kū	chattī-kō	khūnī	ghōrī-chē	āgū	āntī
standing	heard	Child	having-carried	bloody	horse-of	before	bringing
nāklē	Ō	jawān	huttā	Bādshāh-nū	pattā	lāglā	Ō
was-thrown	He	youth	became	King-to	news	was-got	He
gharē	gēti	gallā,	ghanē	khushī	karlī,	wadā	dān-pun
in-house	taking	was-put,	much	rejoicing	was-made,	great	alms
karlā							
were-made							

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqīr* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqīrs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, ‘do not ask me any question’. The *faqīrs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqīrs* said, ‘take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger’. Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the oldest wife’s house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King’s bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

LĀDĪ

The Lāds are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhang*, etc. The number of Lāds returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows —

Bombay	11,761
Central Provinces and Berar	5,383
Baroda State	8,500
Hidrabad State	8,776
Bhavnagar	1,182
TOTAL	<u>35,572</u>

It does not seem as if the Lāds generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lādi was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lādi of Ellichpur is Eastern Rājasthānī, in most respects agreeing with Jaipuri.

[No 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀDĪ

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR

Kōnī ēk mānus-kha duī pōrgā hōtā U-kī mandhun labān pōrgō
Some one man-to two sons were Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wātō āwśī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō karī tākyō Mag
give' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown Then
 thōdē diwas-na labān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā karī dūr dēs-kha
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō, ānī āplē dhatpanā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb karī tākyō
went, and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō Unē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell That
 mulē u-kha phār adchan padī Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō, un u-kha dukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē pathāyō Mag
living-for went, by-him him some feeding-for field-in was-sent Then
 dukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōt bharan-kha u-kha
some which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wātyō, mag u-kha kōnī kēhī dīvō nahī Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not Then sense-in
 āyisan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kīti naukar-kha pōt bharisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōtī bhēta-chhē, ānī mī upāśī marū-chhē'
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am'

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows.—

Panjab			48,170
Ferozepur	.	45,000	
Gurdaspur	.	2,000	
Gujrat		1,170	
United Provinces	.	.	3,380
Saharanpur	.	3,000	
Kheri		380	
		TOTAL	<u>51,550</u>

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā*¹ or *lā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thō*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

¹ The position *gā* refers us rather to the Bagri dialect of Rājasthān than to Hindostānī. We may also compare *gai*, the postposition of the Dative in the Dardic Mayā [G A G]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ēk*, but Hindōstānī *ēk*, Prakrit *pitthi*, back, Pañjābī *pitth*, but Hindōstānī *pith*. The Sāsī of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī, compare *ēkk*, one, *naḥk*, nose, *hāth*, hand, *pitth*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *mit*, back, *lanthā*, ear, *kuḥ*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Sāsī do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *n* in Sāsī, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Sāsī are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsīs is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Sāsī dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign *˘*, thus, *bappā-ḡā*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added, thus, *āllh*, eye, *lann*, ear, *bāpp*, father, but *bappā-gā*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *ātā*, coming, *chugāṇē*, to graze, *chātā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *ī* or *ū* occurs in forms such as *liyyā*, done, *diyyā*, given, *hūvicā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic *ʿain*. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, *nh* and *mh*. Thus, *hūvicā*, become, is almost *ūvicā*, *ghōrā*, horse, is almost *gʾōrā*, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *ī*, *ū*, and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,— dative *gū*, ablative *thō*, and genitive *gā*, feminine *gi*, plural *gīā*. The usual Hindōstānī suffixes dative *lō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *lā*, *lī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstānī. According to Dr Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bāpp*, father, *kūtā*, dog; and *dhiā*, daughter, are as follows —

	Singular			Plural		
Nominative	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kū'ā</i>	<i>dhiā</i>	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhiā</i>
Genitive	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kū'ā-gā</i>	<i>dhiā-gā</i>	<i>bāppē gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhiē gā</i>
Agent	<i>bāppē</i>	<i>kū'ē</i>	<i>dhiē</i>	<i>bāppē-ōnō</i>	<i>kūtē-ōnō</i>	<i>dhiē-ōnō</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *icaddiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Pañjābī genitive suffix.

Pronouns

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns —

	I	We	Thou	You.
Nominative	<i>haū</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>taū</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent	<i>maī</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>taī</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat-Accusative	<i>manē</i>	<i>ham lō</i>	<i>tanē</i>	<i>tam lō</i>
Ablative	<i>mēsthē</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēsthē</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive	<i>mērā</i>	<i>mhārā</i>	<i>tērā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *en*, case of the agent singular *en*, plural *inō*, *uh*, *ōh*, that, oblique base *un*, case of the agent singular *un*, plural *unō*. There is also a pronoun *tīāigā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōnā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows —

Verbs.

Singular	1 <i>haī</i>	Plural	1 <i>hā</i>
	2 <i>haī</i>		2 <i>hō</i>
	3 <i>hai</i>		3 <i>haī</i>

The past tense is singular masc *thīyyā*, fem *thīyyī*, plural masc *thīyyē*, fem *thīyyīā* or *sīyyā*, fem *sīyyī*, plural masc *sīyyē*, fem *sīyyīā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs

Present Time.—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive, thus, *haũ māĩ ē*, I may beat, *baĩ e*, he may enter, *khũhũ*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle, thus, *ham māĩ te hũ*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārĩ hōlā haĩ*, I am being beaten, *haũ mārĩ lartā haĩ*, I am doing beating, *haũ mārĩ rihā haĩ*, I having beaten have remained.

Past Time.—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive, thus, *haũ gavaĩ*, I went, *lam gaĩ*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent, thus, *hamō mārĩā*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārĩā thĩyyā* (or *sĩyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārĩ thĩyyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

Future—The suffix of the future is *gĩā*, preceded by an *n* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārĩā*, to beat, are —

Singular	1 <i>mārangrā</i>	Plural	1 <i>mārangrē</i>
	2 <i>mārangrā</i>		2 <i>mārangrē</i>
	3 <i>mārangrā</i>		3 <i>mārangrē</i>

and *mārang*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Mandeālī, Sukūtī and Bilaspūrī. Compare Mandeālī *mārang* or *mānglā*, I shall beat, Bilaspūrī *mārangrā*, I shall beat.

Imperative—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī, thus, *mār*, beat, *mārō*, beat ye.

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *nā*, thus, *mārñā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *nā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhī *nu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī, thus, *māĩtā*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī, thus, *mārĩā*, beaten, *lahĩā*, said, though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ĩ*, *ĩ-lē*, thus, *jāĩ*, having gone, *mārĩ-lē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*, thus, *ai-gē*, having come, *dēhlĩ-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī, thus, *haũ mārĩ jāĩtā haĩ*, I am beaten, *haũ mārĩ jāĩtā thĩyyā* (*sĩvyā*), I was beaten, *haũ mārĩ jāngrā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr T. Grahame Bailey.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI

ORDINARY DIALECT

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey)

NORTHERN PANJAB

1 kki bandē-gē dō pūt thivvē Un bichchā nikē
 One man-of two sons were Them among by-the-little
 happā gū kaluā, 'hāpp, mālkiā-gā jhārā hissa ma-nū
 father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
 itā har, ma-nū dē' Un apnā sārā māl un-kō batī
 coming is, me-to give' By-him own all property them-to dividing
 divyā Thōrē dūnē-gē pichhō nikē mūndē sārā kujh
 was-given Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
 kattiā kiāā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāī rihā Ōthē
 together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed There
 sārā māl bhairē kammē bichch urāī dīnā Jad
 all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given When
 arī kharch karī linā, us mulkhā bichch barā kāl pariā,
 all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
 te ōh sūrā pānē laggā Tad us mulkhā-gē ēkkī ādnā-gē
 and he narrow to-fall began Then that country-of one man-of
 pās jūī apnā Un apnē pailē bichch sūr chugānē ghalhī,
 near going arrived By him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,
 te ōh chhullū jhārā sūr khattē thivvē apnā pēt bharnē-gū chītī
 and he hush which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
 thivv, par kōī nahī dētā thivvī Tad hōshā bichch āgē
 was, but anyone not giving was Then sense in having-come
 kinnē laggā, 'mōre happā pās kinnē marjūrē-gu bahut tūk
 to eat began, 'n' father near how-many hired labourers-to much food
 hū te aū bhukhā martī harī Hū uthigē apnē happā pās
 we, and I hungry dying am I having-arisen own father near
 jūgē tē un-kō kahngē "hē happ, marī shaminā-gā tē tērā gunih
 will do and I to will-say "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy son
 bhav, un is jūī nahī kī bhī tērī pūt akhāwē,
 made of is this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nũ apnẽ majurẽ bichchā ékki jidā banā'' Tad uthigẽ
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make.'' Then having-arisen
 apnẽ bappā pās turā, tẽ oh ajẽ dūr hi thiyyā kī us-kō
own father near went, and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhigẽ us-kẽ bappā-gũ tars āyā, tẽ daurigẽ gal lāyā tẽ
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and
 barā chumiā Pūtẽ us-kō kahiā kī, 'hẽ bāpp, māi
much kissed By-son him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tẽ tērā gunāh kiyyā tẽ iw haũ is jōgā nahĩ kī
heaven-of and thy son was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhī tērā pūt akhwāwẽ' Bappẽ apnẽ naukārẽ-gũ kahiā kī,
again thy son may-be-called' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'changīā thõ changī pushāk kadhī lē-āo tẽ is-kō lāo, tẽ
'fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kẽ haththā bichch chhāp tẽ pairẽ bichch jutti, tẽ palẽ hūwwẽ
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhẽ-gũ lē-āigẽ halāl karō, kī khāhā tẽ khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry
 manāwā, kyũ, mērā ěā pūt marī gayā thiyyā, iw jiwā
we-may-make, why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai, gawān gayā thiyyā, iw labhī pariā' Tad oh khushī karnẽ
is, lost gone was, now finding fell' Then they merry to-make
 laggẽ
 began

Us-kā barā pūt paliā bichch thiyyā, jad gharā-gẽ nērẽ āyā,
Him-of big son field in was, when house-of in-vicinity came,
 gaunẽ tẽ nachnẽ-gā wāj suniā, tẽ ékki naukārā thõ pūchhiā kī,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 'ěā kyā hai?' Un us-kō kahiā kī, 'tērā bhāi āyā, tẽ
'this what is?' By-him him-to it-was-said that, 'thy brother came, and
 tērẽ bappẽ paliā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā hūwwā hai, is
by-thy 'father reared been calf killed made been is, this
 wāstẽ kī rāzī-bāzī labbhā' Un gussẽ hōigẽ
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found' By-him angry having-become
 na chāhiā kī andar barẽ Tad us-kẽ bappẽ bāhr
not was-wished that inside may-go Then him-of by-father outside
 āigẽ us-kō manāyā Un bappā-gũ jawāb dīnā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded By-him father-to answer was-given,
 'dēkh innẽ warhẽ-gī haũ tērī tahl kartā haĩ, tẽ kadhī tērẽ
'lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy

hukmā-gē barbhulāf nahī turā, par taī kadhī ékk lēlā wī nahī
order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one kid even not
 dinā kī haū apnē yārē sāthth khushi manāē, par jad tērā
was-given that I own friends with merry may-make, but when thy
 ēā pūt āyā jun tērā māl kanjriē bichch udāvā, taī
this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee
 us-kī livjē palā hūwā wachchhā halāl kīyyā ' Un
him of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made ' By him
 us-kō kahiā, 'hē pūt, taū sadā mēiē pās haī, jō-kujjh mērā
him to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near art, whatever mine
 hai, sōi tērā hai Par khushi manāni tē khush hōnā chāhitā
is, that-even thine is But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted
 thiyyā, kyū, tērā ēā bhāi marī gayā thiyyā, iw jīwā
was; why, thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai, gawān gayā thiyyā, iw labbhā hai '
is, lost gone was, now found is '

[No 17]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SÂSI

ORDINARY DIALECT

SPECIMEN II

(Dr T Grahame Batley)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Mhārē	dō	pīr	lagē	jattē	thiyyē,	ékki	gā
Our	two	saints	going-along	going	were ;	one	village
manṅnē	gaū ;	ékki	kajjiā	pāsā	dúddh	mangā,	un
to-beg	went,	one	female-Jatt	from	milk	was-asked,	by-her
nahī	dinā,	uh	turī	gaē,	us-kā	dúddh	lahū
not	was-given ;	they	going	went,	her-of	milk	blood
geā	Un	kajjiā	dēkhiā	ki	dúddh	lahū	hōi
went	By-that	female-Jatt	was-seen	that	milk	blood	becoming
geā ;	uh	bhi	magar	daurī	Unō	khiā,	'jā
went,	she	then	after	ran	By-them	it-was-said,	'go
bachcha,	tērā	dúddh	usī	tarah	hōi	jāgrā'	Uh
little-one,	thy	milk	that-very	way	becoming	will-go'	She
gharē	āi	tē	dēkhiā,	tē	dúddh	usī	tarah
home	came	and	said,	and	milk	that-very	way
geā	thiyyā						becoming
gone	was						
Unī	dō	pīrē	ékki	karāmāt	ki,	ékki	
By-those-very	two	saints	one	miracle	was-done,	by-one	
arkā	sathth	dōph	puttī,	bhi	us-kō	riddigē	khāyā,
elbow	with	iguana	was-dug-up,	then	it	having-cooked	was-eaten,
bhi	un	dūjjē-gō	kahiā	ki,	'maī	puttī,	taū
then	by-him	other-to	it-was-said	that,	'by-me	was-dug-up,	thou
is-kō	bhi	sarā-jit	kar'	Bhi	un	haddiā	kattthiā
it	again	alive	make'	Then	by-him	bones	together
tē	hāthth	phērige	kahnē	laggā,	'jā	bachcha,	daurī
and	hand	having-waved	to-say	began,	'go	little-one,	running
jā,'	bhi	uh	daurī	gai	tē	sarā-jit	hōi
go,'	then	it	running	went	and	alive	becoming
un	dōē	pīrē-gō	nā	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	Malang
those	two	saints-of	names	Bhalād	Bhagat	and	Malang
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malangā-gā	māmā	thiyyā			
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malang-of	mother's-brother	was			

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Two of our saints were going along. They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it. When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood. Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them. They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before.' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be.

Those two saints did a miracle. One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it. Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life.' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away.' Then it ran away and became alive again. The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malang, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malang's maternal uncle.

The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known. Specimens have been received from Saharanpūr and Kherī. They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours. They are much less numerous than in the Panjab, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect. It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kherī, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsīyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces. It is practically Hindōstānī. It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsīyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages.

[No 18]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

४३३३३

 FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees for the cows as I had not got them I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. After some time I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *rooj* and *Ram rooj* (for basket work). I said to the Munshi, 'I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.' The lord gave order that I am hit to the neck and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took on my mother's leave and went to see my son.

The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjāb. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Pañjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī, some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave'. In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārāzī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *lūlar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlt*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit pill*, *charāwā*, advocate, *lit herdsman*, *lhurā*, lower part of leg, *lit hoof*. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages, thus, *bāimī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa *permī*, *nād*, village, with Kānarese *nādu*, country, Gōndī *nār*, village, *lallī*, night, with Arabic *laila*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *lābrā* instead of *balrā*, goat, *lhūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face, *chōmī* instead of *mōchī*, shoemaker, *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carving caste, *tēp* instead of *pēt*, belly, *tīph* instead of *pitth*, back, *bakat* instead of *batak*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *lha* in front we get *lhadas* and finally *lhas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *lhabāl* and *chhabāl*, hair, *pair*, *lhapair*, *chhapair* and *nhan*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows —

l added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *lu*, *lō*, with a following *ā* *lō*, thus, *luhhhī*, Pañjābī *akhhī*, eye, *lohhh*, Pañjābī *akhh*, eye, *lundar* and *andar*, inside, *luggē*, Pañjābī *aggē*, in front of, *lōttā* and *ātā*, flour, *lōh*=*āth*, eight, *lōdmī*=*ādmī*, man, *lōnnū*=*ānā*, anna.

lh is also sometimes added before vowels, thus, *lhassī*=*assī*, eighty, *lhūpar*=*ūpar*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *lha* added before words

beginning with consonants, thus, *khatm*, three, *khadand*, tooth, *khadās*, ten, *khanāk*, nose, *khanāñ*, nine, *khapan*, foot, *khamañ*, by me, *kharañjū*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word, thus, *khuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindostānī *gantā*, *khas*=*das*, ten, *khañ*=*nau*, nine, *khaḥk*=*naḥk*, nose, *khagalnā*=*nikalnā*, to come out, *khis*=*bis*, twenty, *khūh*=*mūh*, mouth, *khakhnā*=*likhnā*, to write, *khōth*=*hāth*, hand.

g is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz. *gupāhī*=*supāhī*, soldier.

ch only occurs as a substitute for *b*, thus, *chatānā*=*batānā*, to show, *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chañ*, water, may be for *pāñ*, compare Kōlhatī *chēñ*. In Western Puhārī, however, we find a similar word *chīs*, water.

chh is quite common, thus, *chhakān*=*kann*, ear, *chhapān*=*pān*, foot, *chhabāmī*=*bārmī*, woman, *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father, *chhabhautā* and *bhautā*, brother, *chhabham* and *bhāñ*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant, thus, *chhūt*, *chhaputt* and *pūt*, son, *chhauht*=*bahut*, much, *chhattū*=*bhattū*, a Sāsī man, *chhāhar*=*bāhar*, outside, *chhaḥak*=*balak*, tomorrow, *chhūhā*=*būhā*, door, *chhahra*=*vāhā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhalann*, ear, *chhangāl*=*gunāl*, sin, *chhaghar*, house, *chhawāt*, woman, *chhalann*, who? *chhalyā*, what? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth.

j and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh*, thus, *jadā*=*baḥā*, big, *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā*=*bhūhā*, hungry.

dh is comparatively frequent, thus, *dhagal*=*gal*, neck, *ghanē*=*nē*, near, *dhabān*=*bān*, sister, *dhabāptā*=*bāptā*, father, *dhamul*=*mul*, country. In *dhamāñ*, village, *dh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *dimnā*=*gimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way.

n is a common substitute for various sounds, thus, *nālī*=*chālī*, forty, *nōrī*=*chōrī*, theft, *niyā*=*chiryā*, bird, *neōlā*=*chhōlā*, boy, *nlaḥ*=*tiḥ*, ticket, *nōmbū*=*ṭombū*, a house-breaking instrument, *naukhnā*=*dēkhnā*, see, *nañj*=*pañj*, five, *naḥnā*=*paḥnā*, read, *nāchhna*=*pūchhnā*, ask, *nair*=*pān*, foot, *nagg*=*pāgg*, turban, *nēt*=*pēt*, belly, *nōhal*=*bōhal*, heap of grain, *nāllī*=*lāllī*, night, *nadhūk*=*sandūq*, box, *nāhb*=*sāhb*, sāhib, *nailu*=*shahī*, city, *nūraj* or *nūñraj*=*sūraj*, sun, *nāth*=*sāth*, with.

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s*, thus, *nhē*=*chhē*, six, *nhōdnā*=*chhōdnā*, leave, *nhōllē*=*chhōllē*, gram, *nhik*=*thik*, right, *nhānā*=*thānā*, police station, *nhāñi*=*thāñi*, brass vessel, *nhittā*=*phittā*, abuse, *nhat*=*sat*, seven, *nhir*=*sir*, head, *nhilnā*=*sikhnā*, learn, *nhīs*=*sis*, head, and so forth.

p does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā*=*chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *pīngī*, fire, *pīrl*, oil, etc.

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *būā*=*ēā*, thus, *buc*=*uc*, now, *bōtṭhē*=*ōtṭhē*, there, *baur*=*aur*, and, *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*, thus, *bagōllē*, gram, *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāthī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant, thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy, *bādi*=*chādi*, silver, *bēndīā*=*gandīā*, lock, *bucar*=*ghūr*, water-carrier, *bīndhā*=*sandhā*, male buffalo, *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold, *bunyarā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith, *bindū*, Hindū, etc.

ī and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *l*, *lh*, respectively, thus, *īāṭhī*=*lāṭhī*, saddle, *rēṭṇā*=*kātnā*, ant, *īāl*=*lāl*, frame, *ruṅjī*=*luṅjī*, key, *īudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*lhudā*, God, *īhaphā*=*lhafā*, angry, *īhijmat*=*lhudmat*, service, *rhēt*=*lēt*, field, *rhāt*=*lhāt*, bed and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *lhapan*, *chhapau*, *nair* and *pau*, foot, *chhabāptā*, *dhābāpta* and *bāptā*, father, *bagōllī*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllī*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are —

l in *chulknā*, to speak, cf. *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. A *lh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhilā*=*millā*, is being met with.

g is common after *ī* in several pronominal forms, thus, *mērgā*, my, *tērgā*, thy, *lēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *lauhgnā*=*lahnā*, tell, *īauhgnā*=*īahnā*, remain, *gaugnā*, to go, *gangā*, went, cf. *ganā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *ladgī*, ever, *lōggī*, *lōi*, anyone, *chaug*=*chār*, four, *duhāngī*=*duhāi*, appeal, *hukamgā-lō*, the command, and so forth.

th is added in *naūṭhā*=*nā*, name, *dūthā*=*dūr*, far, *naīthī*=*nāi*, barber.

t occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father, *bhātā*, brother, *mantī*, mother, and a double addition *dhre* is used in *jaūdhīē*=*jaū*, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases, thus, *dēpnā*, to give, *lēpnā*, to take, *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpī*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began, and in *chhābīā*=*chhagīā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

r is added in words such as *dhōr*, two, *thēi*, three. In *jasīna*, go, *asrīna*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *lumhḷā*=*lumhāi*, potter, cf. *neōklā*=*chhōklā*, boy, *gaunā*=*gādhā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur, such as *lōndh*, the dark half of a month, *lhōnā*=*lhōlnā*, to open, *pāgg*=*pagī*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *l* is prefixed, compare *luggē*, before, *lōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*, thus, *lauhgnā*, to tell, *gangā*, went, *chaug*, four. Compare also *bhātā*, brother,

mautī, mother In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*, thus, *chēnguā*=*changā*, good, *bēndhā*=*sandhā*, male buffalo, *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began, *rēkhicanā*=*raḥlīnā*, place, *rētnā*=*kātīnā*, cut *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged, thus, *bīndī*=*bundā*, eardrop, *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier, *lhaīājū*=*īājī*, pleased An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *lhuntā*=*gautā*, pickle, *naukhnā*=*dēkhnā*, see, *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *cō*, thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold, *neōllā*=*chhōlkrā*, boy Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat, *lōlkrī*=*lakrī*, wood, *gāddar*=*gīdai*, jackal, and so forth All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary Note also double changes in words such as *lhadēpangrā*=*dengrā*, will give, *lhamtth*=*pitth*, back, *chulknā*=*bōlnā*, to speak, *chhangūh*=*gunāh*, sin, *dhamkīn*=Kashmir, *dhumalmān*=Musalmān, *thūb*=*ūth*, camel, and so forth

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect The inflexional forms remain the same The individual words alone are changed Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape, compare *lhamai* and *mai*, by me, *lhamērā*, *lhamīgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout, "I went" is *gauhā* or *gasriā* and so forth

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr Grahame Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī The third has been received from Gurdaspur The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr Bailey, will be found on pp 178ff

[No 19]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ

CRIMINAL VARIATION

SPECIMEN I

(Dr T Grahame Bailey)

Békki	kōdmīā-gē	dhōr	bōrē	thīvyē	Bun	bichchā	khikē
<i>One</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>boys</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>Them</i>	<i>among</i>	<i>by-the-little</i>
bāptē-gū	kaulgiā	ki,	'hē	bāptē,	dhamālā-gī	jihrgā	khussa inērgā
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>'O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>property-of</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>share mine</i>
asrta	hōpē, manū	dēpi	nōd'	Bun	bun-kō	khapnā	nhārgā
<i>coming</i>	<i>is, me-to</i>	<i>giving</i>	<i>leave'</i>	<i>By-him</i>	<i>them-to</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>all</i>
dhamāl	khapaṭi	nodā	Nhōrē	khōjē	nīchhē	khikē	bōrē
<i>property</i>	<i>dividing</i>	<i>was-left</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>by little</i>	<i>boy</i>
māl	natthā	kūligē	khadūr	dhamulkā	bichch	jasrigē	rauhgiā,
<i>property</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>staved,</i>
tē	bōthē	nhārgē	naisē	nhairē	nammē	bichch	khalaī
<i>and</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>piece</i>	<i>end</i>	<i>coils</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>expending</i>
Jad	nhārgā	nharch	kūli	linā,	bus	dhamulkā	bichch
<i>When</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>spent</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>was-taken,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>in</i>
dhakāl	tawā	Bōh	chhauht	naurā	tawā	Tad	bus
<i>famane</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>naï row</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>that</i>
békki	kōdmīā-gē	nās	gaugā,	bun	bus-kō	khapnē	nañtē
<i>one</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>fields</i>
nhugāpē	ghēlwā,	tē	bus-ki	khargi	thi	bun	tāphlē-gū
<i>to-graze</i>	<i>he-was-sent,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>him-of</i>	<i>wish</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>fodders</i>
tūndē	dīmtē	thīvyē	khapnā	nēṭ	nharē,	bus-kō	kōi
<i>pigs</i>	<i>eating</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>belly</i>	<i>may-fill,</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>anyone</i>
thīyyā	Bhī	nōshā	'bichch	asrigē	kauhgnē	laggā,	'mērgē
<i>was</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>sense</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>having come</i>	<i>to-say</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>'my</i>
bāptē-gē	nās	jadē	khajūrē-gū	chhauht	timī	hōpē,	tē
<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>hired-laboures-to</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>food</i>	<i>is,</i>	<i>and</i>
chhūkhā	lugtā	hōpē	Hāi	khapnē	bāptē	nās	jasrangrā
<i>hungry</i>	<i>dying</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go</i>
kauhgangrā	ki,	"hē	bāptē,	mañ	namānā-gā	tē	tērgā
<i>will-say</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>"O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>by-me</i>	<i>heaven-of</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>thy</i>
							<i>great</i>
							<i>sin</i>

kūlā hōpē, bīwkē haũ bis khajōgā nahī hōpē kī kōdmī manũ tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhgē, dhamanũ khajūrē jūdā rēkhwi nōd '' Bhī
boy may-say, me hired-labourers like placing leave '' Then
 buthigē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khaḡē khadūr thīyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 kī bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrāhm asriā, tē bunkigē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō dbagal lavā tē chhauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed By-boy him-to-
 kauhgā kī, ' hē bāptē, maī dhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasūr
it-was-said that, ' O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kūlā, bīwkē bis khajōgā nahī hōpē kī bhī tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhgē ' Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgā kī, ' nhārē
may-remain ' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ' all
 satthā chēnguē ričrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō dhalāō, tē bis-kē khōthā-gu
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhārē-gū paunī, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrigē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, kī dimā tē nushī kūlā Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make My this boy
 lugī gaugā thīyyā, bīwkē khajīwī tawīā, gawān gaugā thīyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell, lost gone was,
 bīw khalabbī tawīā ' Bhī bōh nushī kūlnē laggē.
now having-found fell ' Then they merry to-make began

Buskā jadā bōrā naijā bichch thīyyā Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of big boy field in was When house-to came,
 dhagaunē tē khanachnē gā khawāj nhupā Tad bēkki
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard Then one
 khanaukarā-gu chulāigē nūchhiā kī, ' bēā kyā hōpē ? ' Bun
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ' this what is ? ' By-him
 bus-kō kauhgā, ' tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ' thy brother come is, by thy by-father fat
 kāngal balāl kūlā, khus nāstē kī bōh chēngua
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that he well
 khalabbī tawīā ' Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar
having-found fell ' He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasrnē-gī nahī thī Bhī bus-kā bāptā chhār asrigē bus-kō
going-of not was Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharājū kūlnē laggā Bun hīptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī
pleased to-make began By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsč-gī tērgī khatahl kultī hōpē, tē kadhī tērgā khākhā
take, so-many years of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā, 'tē taī kadhī bēk chhābrī nahī dīpi, ki
not was-broken, and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khapnē khōstč nathth nushī kūlč, jād tērgā bčā bōrā asri
own friends with merry may-make, when thy this boy came
 jin tērgā dhamāl bčnrič bicheh lāyā, 'tāi bus-kē
by-whom thy property harlots among was spent, by-thee him-of
 līvyē tōma kāugal hlal kūlī' Bun bus-kō kauhgā,
for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made' By-him him-to it-was-said,
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē, jūrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgī hōpē Par
'thou alwys my side art, what mine is, thine is But
 naujā kūlnī tē nush hōpnā chīhīfā thīvī, kū, tērgā bčī
meriments to-make and happy to-be proper was, why, thy this
 bhautā lugī gaugā thīyā, hīwkē jiwī tawā, gawān gūgā
brother having-died gone was, now living fell, lost gone
 hīyā, hīwkē khalabhī tawā'
was, now finding fell'

[No 20]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI

CRIMINAL VARIATION

SPECIMEN II

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey)

Mhārgē	dhōr	pīr	nurē	jasartē	thiyyē	Békkī	nādd
<i>Our</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>saints</i>	<i>going-along</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>village</i>
ohhēngnē	gaugē	Békkī	khētīā	nāsā	khadúddh	chhēngā	
<i>to-beg</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>female-Jatt</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>was-asked.</i>	
Bun	nahī	dēpiā	Buh	nurī	gaugē,	bus-kā	khadúddh
<i>By-her</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>They</i>	<i>going-away</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>her-of</i>	<i>milk</i>
khalahū	hōpī	gaugā	Bun	khētīā	nōkhuā	bhai	khadúddh
<i>blood</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>By-that</i>	<i>female-Jatt</i>	<i>it-was-seen</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>milk</i>
khalahū	hōpī	gaugā,	buh	bhī	nichhē	binkī	Bunō
<i>blood</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>By-them</i>
							<i>it-was-said,</i>
‘bōrī,	jasar,	tērgā	khadúddh	busī	narah	hōpī	jasragrā’
<i>‘girl,</i>	<i>go,</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>that-very</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>will-go’</i>
							<i>She</i>
asari	tē	nōkhuā,	tē	khadúddh	busī	narah	hōpī
<i>went</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>it-was-seen,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>that-very</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>becoming</i>
							<i>gone</i>
							<i>was</i>
Bunī	dhōr	pīrē	ōpō	békk	karāmāt	kūlī.	Békkī
<i>Those-very</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>by-saints</i>	<i>by-them</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>miracle</i>	<i>was-done</i>	<i>By-one</i>
arkā	náthth	dōph	‘nuttī.	Bhī	bus-kō	khriddigē	
<i>elbow</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>iguana</i>	<i>was-dug-up</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>having-cooked</i>	
dīmīā	Bhī	bun	nūsrē-gō	kauhgā	bhai,	‘maī	nuṭti,
<i>it-was-eaten</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>other-to</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘by-me</i>	<i>was-dug-up,</i>
taū	bis-kō	bhī	narājīt	kūl’	Bhī	bun	kōddiā
<i>thou</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>again</i>	<i>alive</i>	<i>make’</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>bones</i>
							<i>together</i>
kūlīā,	tē	kōthth	nōhīgē	kauhgnē	laggā,	‘jasar	khabachcha,
<i>were-made,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>having-waved</i>	<i>to say</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>‘go</i>	<i>little-one,</i>
binkī	jasar’	Bhī	buh	binkī	gaugī	tē	narājīt
<i>running</i>	<i>go’</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>running</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>alive</i>
							<i>becoming</i>
gaugī.	Tē	bun	dhōrē	pīrē-gē	naūthē	Bhalād	Bhagat
<i>went</i>	<i>And</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>saints-of</i>	<i>names</i>	<i>Bhalād</i>	<i>Bhagat</i>
							<i>and</i>
Malang	thiyyē,	tē	Bhalād	Bhagat	Malangā-gā	dhamāmā	thiyyā ¹
<i>Malang</i>	<i>were,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Bhalād</i>	<i>Bhagat</i>	<i>Malang-of</i>	<i>mother’s-brother</i>	<i>was</i>

¹ For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 53

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhe kaugā Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call Me own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanēwī lepp'' Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take'' Then own father
 nhās khaturī chulpū Oh ajē dūrtthē thīā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharāhm asriā, baur durkhī-kē chhaglā-kē nhāth lēwī lēpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run neck-of with applying took and
 khachummā Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kaugā, 'rē bāp, māi tērgā
kissed Son-by him-to it-was-said, 'O father, by-me thy
 ar rhadhāi-kā dhagnāh kūhā Is khalāikī-kā khanāhī khaabhi
and God-of sin was-done This worthiness-of not now
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kaugē, Phabappē kuāpnē khaaukrē-kō
thy son me they may call' By-the-father own servants to
 kaugā pai, 'koachchhi dalmā lēpi asar baur bus-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, 'good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichch nhāp chaugaī kharkāi dāwī dēpō, baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimē ar rhusi kūlā, pai khamērā chhabōhrā lūgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugā, khajīwī tawīā, guāchgi gaugā siā, khabib libhwi tawīā, Bib
went, alive felt, lost gone was, now found fell' Now
 bōh rhusi kūlnē lēgbē
they merry to-make began

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichch thīā Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khaūāchnē-kī dhawāj nhunī Khatad khaaukrē-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard Then servants-to
 chalēwī-kē nūchhuā, 'hia chhuā hōpī raugiā'' Bus nē
having-called it-was-asked, 'this what becoming is?' Him-by
 kaugā, 'tērgā bhāutā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khiti dhamaī pai
it-was-said, 'thy brother came, and thy father by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhlī tawīā' Bus-nē rhapā hōpī-kē khaūāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell' Him-by angry becoming not
 khachāhūā pai, 'kūndar jasiā' Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, 'inside I-may-go' His father-by outside having come
 bus-kō chhamanāyā Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi dīnā,
him-to was-entreated Him by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 'khaḍēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgī rhuimat kūtā rihā, baur khatērgī
'see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

KÖLHĀTĪ

The Kōlhātīs are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the

Name Hyderabad State They are said¹ to take their name from *kōlhāt*, the bamboo on which they perform The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollatiga*, which is a compound of *kol-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *atiga*, a player In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe According to Mr Balfour they call themselves Bhatū, compare *bhattū*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe

Occupation In the Bombay Presidency the Kōlhātīs are also makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kōlhātīs, except with their own children Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them² According to Major Gunthorpe,³ the Kōlhātīs of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal There are two tribes, Dukar Kōlhātīs and Kam or Pāl Kōlhātīs The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers Kam Kōlhātīs, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women'

At the last Census of 1911 Kōlhātīs were returned only from the Hyderabad State where they were said to be 1,143 in number The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows —

Bombay Presidency—	
Bombay Town	123
Thana	76
Ahmednagar	588
Khandesh	435
Nasik	383
Poona	384
Satara	334
Sholapur	187
Carried over	2,510

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xi, 129ff.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx, 18f.

³ *Criminal Tribes*, p 46ff.

Bombay Presidency—*contd*

Brought forward	2,510
Akalkot	85
Bhor	7
Satara Agency	10
Belgaum	100
Bijapur	118
Dharwar	380
Kanara	15
Kolaba	306
Ratnagiri	2
Kolhapur	270
Southern Maratha Country	171
Sawantwadi	57

TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

1,681

Berar—

Amraoti	88
Akola	638
Ellichpur	161
Buldana	281
Wani	97
Basim	57

TOTAL BERAR

1,325

Hyderabad—

Gulbarga	1,640
Naldurg	3,022
Hyderabad	67
Nander	82
Sirpur Tandur	191
Parbhani	75
Bhir	229
Aurangabad	385
Indur	1

TOTAL HYDERABAD

6,007

GRAND TOTAL

12,013

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhātī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Ohanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhātī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhātīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhātī was returned from the following districts—

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	700
Poona	350
Satara	150

1,200

1,200

Berar—

Amraoti	127
Akola	640
Ellichpur	200
Buldana	150

1,117

1,117

Central Provinces—

Chanda

50

50

TOTAL	.	<u>2,367</u>
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Authority

A Kōlhātī vocabulary has been published in the following work —

BALFOUR, EDWARD,—*On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. xiii, Part 1, 1844, pp 1 and ff Note on the "Bhatoos" on p 12, vocabulary, pp 17 and f

Mr Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhadoo, Doomur or Kollati

Dialect

Bhadoo is identical with the Sāsī word *bhattū*, a Sāsī man.

The corresponding Kōlhātī feminine *bhatānī* means 'wife' and is identical with Sāsī *bhatānī*, a Sāsī woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhātī and Sāsī from this, and indeed, an examination of Kōlhātī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsī and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may here note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long, thus, *ēkka*, one, *rahhh*, keep, *lhōggā*, house, *rutti*, bread, *utthi*, having arisen, *gāddhi*, having taken out, *sātta*, seven, *baddhē*, were bound, *rānna*, ear, *khumma*, mouth, *bhallā*, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of *ch* to *s* in the Ellichpur specimens, compare *kharsī*, spent, the change of *l* to *y* in Akola, a common occurrence in the current Marāṭhī of the district, compare *rāy*=*kāl*, famine, *muyē* and *mudē*, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as *ap-sī*, from now, *gāddhi*, having taken out, but *ladd*, draw, in the Akola specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sāsī. We may note the frequent *-ā*-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in *i* or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāsī, compare *lhetā-mē*, in the field, *ārōpīgā-thō*, near the accused, *bhatānīgā-nē*, by the wife. In Akola we find the Gujarātī termination *ō* in forms such as *bāpō*, fathers, *lhōggō mē-sī*, from in the house, *lachēriō-mē*, in court.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindūstānī, viz —case of the agent *-nē*, dative *-lu*, *-lō*, ablative *-sē*, *-sī*, genitive *-kā*, *kī*, *kē*, *līā*, locative *-mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hū*, I, *ham*, we, in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *mī*, I, compare Marāṭhī. In Ellichpur we also find the form *mērē lu*, to me, which was also used in the Beldārī of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as *jābō*, then, in Akola, which remind us of Rājasthānī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sāsī. In the Akola specimens forms such as *lahēngdā*, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find *hōngdā*, I shall be, compare the Sāsī future suffix *gīā*. The future of *mārṇā*, to beat, is stated to be *mārang* throughout all persons and numbers in Akola. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as *jānēgā*, I shall go, *ballēgā*, I shall say.

The general character of Kōlhātī will be seen from the beginning of a version of the Parable which follows. It has been forwarded from Ellichpur.

[No 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀTĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR

Yakkī mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā bappā-ku
One man-to two sons were Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, 'bappa, jē jingī-kā battā hai, sē mērē-ku dē' Majē
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give' Then
 un-nē jingī batti dī Majē thōdē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā kari mulkhā-war gayā Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went Own property
 mastiyē-sī udāi dīi, kharsī sarī gai Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went That country-in
 badā kāl padyā, u-satti us-ku adchan padī Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him to distress fell That time-at that
 mulkā-sī vakhī mankhā thānē jāi rahyā, unē āpnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khētā-mē tandē charāwnē bhēji diyā O tandē kōṇḍā
fields-in pigs to-tend having-sent he-was-given Those swine husks
 khatē thiyē, ō khāi pēt bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bātyā, us-ku kinē kāi diyā nai Majē ō
it-appeared, him-to by-anyone anything was-given not Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē bappā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku rutti pēt
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bhari milti, mi bhukkā martā Mī utthī mērē bappā-kōnē
filling is-got, I starving die I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ō bappā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āga mi-nī pāp karyā Abthunā-sī mī tērā bētā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nai Aplē chākrīyē-kē gadiyē-wāni mērē-ku rakha " Majē utyā,
not Own service-of labourer-like me keep " Then arose,
 utti bappā-kunē gayā
having-arisen father-near went

The few Kōlhātis of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī, compare *bōlā*, said, *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows

GIPSY LANGUAGES

KOLHĀTĪ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ekka ādmiya-ku dō nhanē ladhē thiya, ēk chhōrā an ēk chhōrī
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl

Ohhōrā thiya, wō muwā-mē badā bānglā thiya, chhōrī nīsi-ch thiya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was

Ekka dīn wō dō-jhanē chhōrē ainē-kē najik khēltē thiya Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass of near playing were Boy

chhōriya-ku bōltā, 'aya, yē ainē-mē dikka bhalā nikkī kōn disti
girl-to says, 'O, this glass in see well good who is-appearing
kī.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahī lagā Us-kō samjhā
what' Girl-to that good not appeared Her-to it-was-thought
kī is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā Pichhē unē
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said Afterwards her-by

bappā-kē najik bhayya-kē gārhanē bōllē Wō bōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said She said, 'father,
kōynē-mē khum dikhi khushī pānā, yē bāykā-kā kām, us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work, that-in

ādmiya-nē man ghālnā nahī' Bappā-ne dō-jhanē-kō pēṭā-sī pākadi
man-by mind to-be-put not' Father-by both breast-to clasping
us-kō khushī kiyā Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum ladhu na-kō
her-to satisfaction was made He said, 'children, you fight not-should

Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-ma ainē-mē dēkhtē jā'
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter. The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty. One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass. The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest'. This did not please the girl. She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her. Then she went to her father and complained of the boy. She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women, a man should not put his mind on such things'. The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel. I should like both of you to look into the glass every day'.

The word *kōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *k* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods of disguising words in Criminal Sāsi and similar argots

Argot

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlhātis know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājji*, woman, *khōggā*, house, *khūm*, mouth, face, *chēni*, water, *tummī*, head, *taunā*, fall, *thāy*, beat, *ṭuōā*, rupee, *thōknā*, sit, *duṭṭa*, eat, *dhēd*, a Mahār (lit a huge, burlv, person), *bhatānī*, wife, *hētti*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajētā*=*betā*, child, *kōkhka*=*ākha*, eye, *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man, *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand, *khūt*=*ūth*, camel, *khanākka*=*nāk*, nose, *khanajik*=*najik*, near, *khumbā*=*umai*, age, *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsi.

As in Sāsi and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chadā*=*badā*, big, *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil, *(ka)jētā*=*bētā*, boy, *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

Th and *dh* are prefixed in words such as *ṭhamāl*, property, *thamanā*, to die, *dhōkhal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute, thus, *nān*=*chād*, moon, *nyāi*=*chāi*, four, *nōr*=*chōi*, thief, *nāt*=*jāt*, caste, *nīb*=*jībhi*, tongue, *nāṭṭa*=*dāt*, tooth, *nusrā*=*ḍusrā*, other, *nēt*=*pēt*, belly, *nāch*=*pāch*, five, *nōkkad*=*bōkad*, goat, *nhē*=*liyē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*, thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field, *nhād*=*ḍhād*, tree, *nhāmē*=*sāmnē*, before, *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

B is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one, *bua*, him, *bēthē-si*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōiā*=*chhōrā*, boy, *bannagar*=*dhangar*, shepherd, *bōnnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural, thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rētti*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear, *rāy*=*gāy*, cow, *rāv*=*gāv*, village, *ihup*=*khūb*, well, *ihōdā*=*ghōdā*, horse, *ihallō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went, *ihōghyā*, stayed, a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister, *nanchhā*, small, *nāvchhā*, name, *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father, *bhāvotā*, brother, *p* in *dēppa*, give, *lyēp*, take, *r* in *dhōi*, two, *v* in *āvotā*, comes, *s* and *sar* in *jāssa*, go, *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable, the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 179ff.

[No 24]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATI

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA

Koi	bek	kōdmī-kō	dhōr	bōrō	bōcheche	Bus-mē-kā	nhannā
Some	one	man-to	two	sons	were	Them-in-of	younger
bōri	bappi-ku	kahūgdā,	'bappi,	jō	mērā	thamālā-kā	nāttā mu-ku
son	father-to	said,	'father,	this	my	property-of	share me-to
īsarī,	wō	mo-ku	dēppō	Jabō	bus-nō	bunh-kō	nhampat nāti
comes,	that	me to	give	Then	him-by	them-to	property dividing
dēppī	Jabō	nhodē	dinā-sī	nhansī	bōrā	sab	namā
was given	Then	few	days-from	small	son	all	together
kāriknī	dūr	nī-sī mō	goghā,	am	wōthō	khudadēpanā-sī	
having-made	far	count-y-in	went,	and	there	notousness-with	
hī	am	khipli	nhampat	khudāi	dēppī	Jabō	bus-nō
was-taken	and	own	property	having-tasted	was-given	Then	him-by
ari	rhirehē-par	bus	mulkhā-mē	chada	rāy	tavyā,	bus-muyē
all	spent after	that	count-y-in	big	famine	fell,	that-on-account-of
bus-ku	khadchan	trāi	Jad	o	bus	nēsī-mē-ka	bēkhā rarasthā-kō
him to	difficultly	fell	Then	he	that	count-y-in of	one man-of
khānjik	jāik	roghvā	Bun-nē	bus-ku	khāplē	nhētā-mē	nhūr
near	having gone	stayed	Itm-by	him	own	field-in	stone
narāwnē	nathīyā	Jad	sār	jō	narphal	khātā	thiyā bus-par
to-ferd	was sent	Then	some	which	husks	eating	were those-on
khāpli	pūt	bharnā	śā	bus-kō	nīlā-mē	āya,	akhun
own	belly	should-be-filled	thus	his	heart-in	came,	and
kin-nē	bus-ku	kāhī	dippā	nāhī	Jad	ō	nhudi-par
anybody-by	him to	anything	was-given	not	Then	he	sense-on
ākhāhī	kahūgdā,	'mērō	bappā-kō	ēthē	ritēk	nhāldārā ku	
having-come	said,	'my	father-of	with	how-many	servants-to	
nhār-pūr	rūtī	milti,	ākhun	hū	bhukhā-sī	thamartā	
bellu-full	bread	is got,	and	I	hunger-from	am-dying	
Utthi	khāplē	bappā-kō	hang	jāugdā	wa	bus-kō	kēhē, 'nō
Having-arisen	own	father-of	near	went	and	him-to	said, 'O
bāptē,	mē-nē	nēwā-kē	khirdi	wa	tērē	nhāmnē	nāp karyā
father,	me by	God-of	against	and	of-thee	before	am done

hē.	Ap-sī	tūrā	chihōrā	kehēnē-kē	hū	lāyak	nāhī'
is	Now-from	thy	son	saying-of	I	worthy	not'
Narantu	bappā-nē	khāplē	nakrā-ku	kahyī,		'kābut	rapdā
But	father-by	own	servants-to	it-was-said,		'good	cloth
lāi	bus-ku	rhallō,	ākhn	bus-kē	kōhōtā-mī	khāngōḡi	wō
having-taken	him-to	put,	and	his	hand-on	ring	and
gōtē-mē	jōdvē	rhallō	Jab	āpun	khāi	nēn	karang
foot-on	shoes	put	Then	we	having-eaten	merry	shall-make
Kāran	yō	mērā	chihōrā	marī	grā	thiyā,	ō
Because	this	my	son	having-died	gone	was,	he
again							
jwā	huwā,	wō	jattā	rhivā	thiyā,	ō	milyā'
living	became,	he	lost	remaining	was,	he	was-found'
Then							
ō	harikh	karhī	rihē				
they	merriment	making	were				

[No. 25]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀTĪ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA

Jānu wālad Hārī, nīt Kōlhātī, khumbar baras tīs, bastī
Jānu son of Hārī, caste Kōlhātī, age years thirty, residence
 Kāndī, nēwā-kī m hī kēhātā kē ājmās pandhrā dīn huō
Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become
 hōngē, rōj sukārwar dīn rītī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
my-be, day Iriday day at night I and wife and two children
 itē khōzgē mē sukte thē Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kē
so many house-in sleeping were Then two watch-of night-of
 sambhārī mē mērc bhat mīvā-nē mu-ku jāgī karvā ākhin kīhī
approximation-in m wife by me awakened was-made and saying
 rihī kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāndē bajī rihīpē, ākhin kōdmi-kā chābhāy
she was that, 'house in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
 awtī hē, jab utī ' Bus-par-sē hū utīvā ākhin bhūtī-kē bang
coming is, then rise ' That on-from I rose and wall-of near
 dēhīvā I hī bhōk mu-ku dikhivā Bus-par-sē mu ku khās
it-was-seen Then hole me-to was-seen That-on-from me-to certainly
 wātīvā kē kōi-to-bī khōggā phōdī māhāy ghūsyā hē
it-appeared that somebody house having-been inside entered is
 Khōggā-mē awī nahī thīvā Mērc bēhāwānā-tanhē angār-pētī thī
House-in lamp not was My bed-under match-box was
 Mē nē lagech giddhī bus-ko pētāi Ittē-mē yō ārōpī
Me-by at-once having-taken out it was-lighted This-much-in this accused
 bhūtī-kē pādēl bhōkī-thōk jai-rīvā Bus-par mēri najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going was That-on my sight gone-immediately
 mē nē bus-ku pākadvā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā Bus-kō kēhēngdā
me by him-to was seized, and him-of hand was-seized Him-to I-said
 kō, 'arē nōrā, katthō chalyā? ' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mēri
that, 'O thief, where moved? ' That-on-from him-of and of-me
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub hūi, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kālhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from ' noise was-made

Bus-par-sī khōggē-kē śējāri-lōk Sītārām wō Iṭhōbā ēsē āyē
That-on-from house-of neighbours Sītārām and Iṭhōbā these came
 Ittē-mē mērē bhatāmyā-nē dīwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē mähāy-kī
This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of
 sākkayī gāddhī, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē mähāv
chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside
 āyē Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā, jab is ārōpiyā-thō
came Then me-to much strength came, then this accused-near
 dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nikyē Vē khanna thērā tivē
it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out Those bodices three rupees
 kimatī-kē hē Vē mērē hē, bhatāmyā-kē gathōdē-mē thiyē Ō
worth-of are They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were That
 gathōdā chakkīyā-thōkē utyamyā-thō thiyā Is-kē śiwāi nusrā
bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was This-of excepting other
 māl gayā nāhī Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin
property went not Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and
 lagēch paṭēlā-kē bang hī gayē, wō hui hakikat paṭēlā-kō
at-once Paṭēl-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭēl to
 kahī Bus-par-sī paṭēlā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhēdā-kē tābē-mē
was-told That-on-from Paṭēl-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in
 ārōpi-ku dīyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis thēsan Bārsī-Tākīyā-ku
the accused-to was-given, and morning of time police station Barsī-Takī-to
 pathāyā Ārōpi kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwchhā kyā hē, yō
he-was sent The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this
 mu-ku mālum nāhī, kāran-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī Dīwā lagāwnē-kē
me-to known not, because he own village-of not Lamp lighting-of
 nihē mē-nē angār-pēti-kī kādī ōdhī Ittē-mē ō ārōpi
in-order me by match-box-of stick was-rubbed This-much-in that accused
 bhōkkā-kē khanajik dikhānā Bus-mudē mu-ku dīwā lagāwtā
hole of near appeared That-on-account-of me-to lamp being lighted
 āyā nāhī Bhūtī-kē pādēl bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku adchan-mē-sī jānā
came not Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go
 āwnā āwtā Kachērīō-mē huwā khidā jis khidē-sē bhūtī-ku bhōk
to come comes Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole
 pādvā, ō mu-ku bhōkā kē najikā-kē nhāwniyā-mē mīyā
was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

I, Janu, son of Hari, a Kūlhātī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandī, state on earth that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sitārām and Jībōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Patīl and informed him of what had happened. The Patīl gave the accused in charge of a chaukidār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsī Takhī. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp, and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

GĀRŌDĪ.

The Gārōdis are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madārī sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,¹ 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive. The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive. The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food. Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōdī or Gārudī is derived from *gāruda*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōdis in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōdis. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugāicungō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapelungā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōdī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujārātī, though we also find *iēmūā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ē* as in Hindōstānī, compare *lāicē* (but also *lāicō*), sons, *bhāicē-lā*, to a father. The genitive ends in *lō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *lā*. In the periphrastic present we find *luṅū hū*, I am doing, as in Mewāṭī, Mālvi, and Mēwārī. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī, Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, I, *lāicē*, a child, the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *uṅā*, here, *uṅā*, there, *nīmū*, water, *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilētō*, when coming, *hāyilandē*, coming, *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōdis try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *aldī*, whup, *bēl*, eat, *bōngā*, gold, *chisam*, good, *chōnō*, name, *dhamulō*, belly, *dhtkō*, slave, *dharālī*, iron, *dhāyṭī*, property, *ḍḍhalwītṇī*, harlot, *ḍḍhāmī*, midnight, *ḍḍhangī*, a bulbous root, *gōnō*, hand, *gōnālī*, foot, *ghuruknā*, swine, *jachan*, diagnose, *kājā*, man, *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*), *khōmdā*, mouth, *lāṅsō*, bull, *kāyṭī*, ailment, *luḡ*, die, *luḡā*, beat, *mallā*, garden, *nimal*, run, loose, *nānd*, house, village, *nāthyā*, wife, *nirmā*, water, *panēchī*, back (of

Kanarese *bennu*), *tabēt*, health, *tap*, fall, *tōk*, say, *tōlchō*, head (cf Kanarese *tale*), *thig*, sit, *icalā*, give, and so on

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters, thus, *dabō*, big, and perhaps *tap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants, thus, *ghāyilē*, they went, *lhaikhanā*, having taken, *nākyō*, threw

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *lhadmī*, man, *lhapā*, above, *khut-kō*, having arisen, *lhōyid*=*baud*, doctor. In *gāndilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *ch*, and in *rēmna*, goat, *r* for *m*.

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *b* in words such as *chulāwū*, to call, *chōlnī*, word, state. Note *chuwānd*, bind. In *jilāfī*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf *bilādī*. *Dz* is a more common substitute, compare *dzhichādī*, behind, *dzhulāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger, *dzhāit-lanā*, having gone, *dzhapplī*, shoe, sandal, *dzhupār*, afternoon (cf *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭhād*, seize. The initial *dh* in *dhamuklō*, belly, *dhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turicālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *su*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kū*, to the fields, *l* in *lpadā*, cloths, and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come, *hant*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

l in *bhēkdā*, brother, and *g* in *bōngā*, gold, compare, however, Kanarese *bangāra*; *ch* in *lanēchī*, eye, *kānēchī*, ear, *chandichī*, moon, *bhanichī*, sister, *nhanchō*, small, etc.,

ṭ in *ghōrṭō*, horse, *d* in *khagādī*, before, *khōmdā*, mouth, *dāḍwā*, tooth, *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.,

t in *dzhulāyit*, hunger,

p in *rhapelyō*, was, *hapē-nā*, am not,

m in *ek-mū*, one, *duṭ-mū*, two, *ḷitmū*, how many, *bhukmū*, devil, *dēmā*, god, *tōdmē*, I broke, *thudmē*, few, *kaimel*, do, *summel-kā*, having heard, etc.

l in *karēlyō*, did, *karmel*, do, *ghalel*, put, *ghāyilē*, went, *chalēlē*, went, *jagāyilyo*, waked, *dzhāyil*, go, *batat-kā*, dividing, *rakellē*, keep, *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard, *summel-kā*, having heard, *hāyilyō*, came, *duṭmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *ḷ* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing, *mōhlō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōdīs gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 179ff

[No 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GARÖDI

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ekmū kājā-kū dūlmū lāwdē chhō Yē-kē mhayī nhanchō līwdō
One man-to two sons were Them-of among younger son
 āplyō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāyī-mā-sī ma-kū hāyīludē
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
 bātō ma-kū walī' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayī āplyō dhāyī bātāl-kā
share me-to give' Father them-of among own property dividing
 walai Nhanchō lāwdō āplyō hītō lhal-kanā dūr mulūk-kū
gave Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 dzhāl-kanā bharkum dīn hovīl-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dund hō-kanā
having-gone many days became-not, that-in he notous having-become
 āplyō dhāyī sab ghalā nākyō Ō hē karēktō wā
own property all throwing was-lost He so doing that
 mulūk-ma dabi dzhvāyīlī tap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyīlō Ō
country-in big famine having fallen him-to poverty became He
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlō, ē khadmī
that country-of one man near in-service remained, that man
 ō-kū ghuruknā charānē-kū nētā-kū lagī-dhalyō Ungā dzhukāyīt-sī
him some feeding-for fields-to was-sent There hunger-from
 kalmal hōvīl-kan ghuruknā bētēsō bhussō bī bēt-kō
exhausted having-become some eaten husks even having-eaten
 dhamuklō bharlē-chhō, lēkhin ō-kū koyī-kan-sī kujī-ch milchhī-nā
belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was got-not
 Aīsē thudmē dīn ghayilē, āplyō dzhichali chōlnī yād hō-kanī
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kītmū
he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how many
 tsākriwālā-kū dhamuklā bhar-kā jāstī bētnī mil-chhī, mī-tō-
servants to bellies having-filled more food got-is, I-on-the-other-
 bī ingā dzhukāyīt-sī lugū-hū Mī khut-kō-nā mero bhāwutē-kanā
hand here hunger-from dying-am I having-arisen my father-near
 dzhāyīl-kē tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pīp bhāwutē-kā pīp
having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin

chirwānd-kā lyō Mī tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōknē-kū chisam
having-tied was-taken I thy son having-said saying-for fit
hape-nā. Ma-kū tērē-kanā ekmū naukar-wānī rakhel-lē ” ” Asō
am-not. Me of-thee-near one ' servant-like keep ' ' So
tōk-kanā ungā-sī khut-kanā āplyō bhāwutē-kanā hāyil-rōtō bhāwutō
having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father
dūr-sī ō-kū charch-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā
far-from him having-seen pity having come having-in having-gone
tikad-kanā chummi wolāyō Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō,
having-embraced kiss was-given Then son father-to said,
‘bhāwutē, mī tērē khagādi dēmā-kē khagādi chūk karēlyō Tū
'father, by-me of-thee before God-of before son was-done Thou
ma kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā ' Ō-kī bhāwutō
me thy son having made to call is-not ' This-to father
āplyō “naukar-kū tōkyō, ‘chisam lipadā lhāyil-kanā mērē lāwdē-kū walāw ,
own servants-to said, ' best robe having-taken my son-to give ,
gōnē-ma khangtī ghalel, gōnālī-ma dzhyapplī ghalel, bētnī tayāri
finger-on ring put, feet-on shoes put, dinner preparation
karmel, ham bēt-kanā khuśī hapelungā, kaikētō yō mērō lāwdō
make; we having-eaten merry shall-become, because this my son
lug ghailyō chhō, phir-kanā dam hāyilyō, nimal ghailyō chhō-sō,
dead gone was, again life came, lost gone , being,
milyō ' Yō sunel-kanā sab khadmī khuśī hapellyō
was-found ' This having-heard all men glad became

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē dabō lāwdō nētyā-ma chhō Ō nānd-kanā
This time his elder son field-in was He house-near
hāyilētō ō-kū gid haur nachlan sunel hāyilyō Ō
coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came He
tsākrīwālē ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, ‘yō kē hapel ? ' āsē tōkyō
servants-among one-to having-called, ' this what is ? ' so said
Ō kū wa-nā tōkyō, ‘tērō bhēkdā hāyilyō hāyī, ē chisam-sī
Him-to him-by it-was-said, ' thy brother come is, he well
hāyilē kar-kā tērē bhāwutē-nā bētnī karēli hāyī ' Itmu
came having-said thy father-by dinner made is ' This
sunel-kanā wā dabā lāwdō ghusī-kū hāyil-kū mhayī ghailc-nā
having-heard that elder son anger to having-come inside went-not
Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, ‘mhayī-hāyil,'
That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, ' inside-come,'
kar-kā ta-kū bharkum ajijī karēlyō Ō-kī ō āplyō
having-said him-to much entreaty was-made That-to he own

bhāwutē-ki tōkyō, 'mi itnū baras tak tērī tsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done
 tērī chōlnī kabī tōdmē-nā Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhai-kanā
thy word ever broke-not But I my friends having-taken
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstō tū kabī ma-kū ckmū rēmnā-bī
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one hid-even
 walāy-nā Džhalwātñī-kā sangat karel-kanā tērō dhāyti sab
gavest-not. Had lots-of company having-made thy property all
 ningaḷ-lyōsō yō tērō lāwdō nānd-kū hāyilō barābar tū ō-kč
devouring-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of
 wāstō bētnī karēlyō ' Bhāwutē-nā lāwdō-kō tōkyō, ' tū
for-the-sake dinner madest ' Father-by son-to it-was-said, ' thou
 har-gadī mērē sangat rhaṇolā, mērē-kan hapčlāsō srb tērō ch
all-time of-me in-company art, of-me-near being all thine-alone
 hāyil Luggōsō tērō bhēkdā, plur-kā dam bharčlyō, nimal ghailō
is Dead-being thy brother, again life filled, lost gone
 cbhōsō, milēlyō Aisō ham khusī hōyilnē-kč chisam hapelā '
being, was-found So we happy to-become good is '

[No 27]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

G ĀRŌDĪ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ajar dzhāyilnē kē bholō upñw Ekimū nānd-ma ekimū dābō
Indigestion coming-of simple remedy One toison in one big
 hajī chhō Ō har gadī bharkum bet-kanā thugyāsō jāgā-pa thugyō
man was He every time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting
 chhō Kousē-chi tarī-sī kaisit karel ebha-nī Ō-kī wāstē ō-kō
was Any even kind of labour doing was-not That of for-the-sake his
 ane ma labu to bī sustī hāyil-chhī Ekimū din ō kājā
love-in sometimes also indisposition coming-was One day that man
 aplhō dos kē nānd-ku bētnē ku ghāylo chhō Ungā bharkum bēt-
on front-of horse to eating for gone was There much having-
 kanī dzhāmi tak jagāylo Ō-kī wāstē sakāl ō kū
eaten midnight-till sealed That-of on account' neat-morning him-to
 bharkum ajar ho gadī Ō bharkat-ku ō tārēt charch kanā hāyil
great indigestion became That time at he health having-examined come
 jar-ka gādī-ko khupar chad kan khōyid-ko nānd-kū ghāylo
having-said carriage of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went
 Khōyid-nī ō kē gōnō charch-kanā kāyil-kī jachan karel-kanā
Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made
 tokyō, 'bīwā, ingā si dūhnu kos-pa ekimū mallē-ma yā kāyil kū
said, 'Sir, here from two kos-in one garden-in this disease-for
 wālānē-kī dzhāngī hapela Khusī-sī ūnga-tak hāyiltō ō khupad-kan
giving-of bulb is kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted up
 wālāñ Ō-kī wāstē dzhupar-kē mhayī tērē kāyil dzhāyil-kē
I-may-give That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone
 mōklō hapēlangō ' Itmu sunmel kā kājā-nū tōkyō, 'mērō
relief will become' This much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my
 gādī tayār hoyil-kī rharpli Hāyil, ūngā-tak dzhāyil-kanā
carriage ready having-become stands Come, there-to having-gone
 hāyilānā ' Itmū tok-kanā, ō wā khōyid-kē barābar gādī-ma
let us come' This-much having-said, he that doctor-of with carriage-on

chad-kan chalēlē Nānd-kanā-sī dulmū kōs dzhāyīl-kanā khōyīd-nā
having-mounted went House-near-from two lōs having-gone doctor-by
gōnē-mā-kī aldī hōnūkar-kā tanā nakhil dīyō
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-given

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A simple remedy for indigestion

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *lōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *lōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

K is substituted in *hurwā*, swine, compare *sūw*

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man, *khagādī*, before, *khāpu*, own; *khutnē-mē*, in the meantime, *khel*, one, *khidīw*, god, *khau*, harlot. In *khulke*, having said, it has replaced an old *b*, and so on.

A g has been substituted for other initials in *gipadā* = *kapā*, clothes, and perhaps in *gēlō*, boy, cf. *bētā*.

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chaddō* = *baiā*, big, *chōnd* = *bāndh*, tying, *chhīl* = *bhāi*, filling, *chhuk* = *bhūkh*, hunger, *chhugā* = *mu ghā*, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots, compare *dhākhō* = *kākhā*, uncle, *dhiml* = *mulā*, was got, *dhunabī* = *kunbī*, a cultivator, *dhēlyā*, compare *bhēiā*, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry, *naiībī*, poverty, *nusā*, angry, a palatal in *nākar*, servant, *nūkh*, sin, a dental in *nōs*, friend, a labial in *nad-ke*, falling, *nāp*, sin, *nu-hu*, again, *nurāw*, put on, *niādī* (*fiyādi*), complainant, *naiābai*, immediately, *nāt*, state, *naias*, year, *nītai*, inside, *nan*, mind, an *h* in *nakhīkat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabalo*, all, compare *ab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*, thus, *nhanlat*, dishonestly, *nhun-ke*, hearing, *nhuwyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhēt*, field, *nhūs*, chaff, *nhōkhō*, small.

B has been substituted for *l* in *bēto*, took, and for *s* in *bunyal-ke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māwutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māwutī*, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials, thus, *rikan*, ear, *riālō*, share, *riāl*, hair, *ripchē* = *pīchhē*, behind, *rihālō* = *bhāi*, brother, *rihāi*, outside. *Rhākhō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *riālō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *ihōlē*, art, *mislē*, head, and a *lu* in *nhōkhō* = *chhōtā*, small. If *ihākhō*, brother, is derived from *bhāi*, a *kl* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four, *dūg*, far, *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kīchō*, did, *ghōdchō*, horse.

An addition *īl* is used in some intransitive verbs, thus, *chigīt*, run, *nukītō*, lost, *baiītō*, came, *lugītō*, dead. A *d* is added in *khagādī*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōd* and *wād* in verbal forms such as *natōd*, dividing, *ikhōd*, keeping, *ghatōd*, put, *baiawādī*, she came, *ihōkwādō*, stayed, *hitwādyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take, *māwutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *gelpō* = *gēlō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *l* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gēlō* = *bētā* (?), boy, *dhēlyā*, kid, compare *bhēiā*, ram, *chhīl* = *bhāi* (?), filling, *kōl* = *kar*, doing (compare Sāsi *kāl*), *gawaluō*, singing, and so on.

The *bai* in *hōbai-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀN WALĒ OR LHĀRĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk damōlō-kū dōg gelpē hī Wā-mē nhōknō gelpō
One man-to tico sons were Them-among younger son
 khāpnō māwutē-kū khulwādyō, 'māwutō, tērō jingānī-mē ma-kū barōsō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming
 rātō ma-kū khich' Māwutō wā-mē khāpnō jingānī natōd-bētō
share me-to give' Father them-among own property divided
 Nhōknō gelpō khāpnō ratō bēt-ke dūg mulūk-kū hit-ke chhōt
Younger son own share having-taken for country-to having gone many
 dīn naī hōbrē khutnē-mē ū dund hō-bar-ke khāpnō jingānī
days not became this-much-in he riotous having become own property
 nabaļō narab kōļ kichī Ū wāsarē kōļi khūpar wā
all evil doing was done He so having-done after that
 dēs-mā chaddō dukāl nad-ke wā-kū naribī barawādi Ū wā
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came He that
 dēs-kā khēk damōlō khurē nākri rhōkwādo E damōlō wā-kū
country-of one man near in-service remained This man him
 kurnā narānē-kū khāpnō nhēt-ku nhandā-kichō Utthē chhukē-sī
swine grazing-for own field-to sent There hunger-from
 nhankat hōbar-ke kurnā dutōsō nhūs-bi dut-ke rēpat chhīl
pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full
 bētō-tō, lēkin wā-kū kun-kē pēsō-sē kuch bī naī dhimlē
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything even not was got
 Yēsō thōkē dīn hitwādyā, khāpnō ripchali nāt yād hōbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ū khāpnō nan-mā khulwādō, 'mērō māwutō pēsō hōbrēsō chhōt
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
 nākar-kū rēpat chhīl-ke jāstī dūtan dhimlē, mē hyā chhukē-sī
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got, I here hunger-from
 lugnalō Mē khutwād-ke mērō māwutē-kō pēsō hit-ke chhōlwādyō,
am-dying I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,

“māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō - Mē tērō
“father, I God-of son father-of son tying took I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēnē bētanē-kū lāyakh nañ Ma-kū khēk nākari sarik
son saying saying taking-for worthy not Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt ” ’ Yātri khul-ke whā-sī khut ke
of-thee near keeping take ” ’ So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhuman-ke
own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke . chigīt-lit-ke chithī lōtke chummā bētwādō
 pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck hiss took
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, ‘māwutē, mē tērō khagādī Khidēw-kā
Then son father-to said, ‘father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagādī nūk kōlwadi Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
before son did Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jūn ’ Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākari-kū khulwādyō, ‘nirō gipadā
not ’ That-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū . nirāw, khāngli-mē chundadi ghalōd, gōnē-mē
having-taken my son-to put-on, finger-on ring put, feel-on
 jōdakhā ghalōd, dūtnē-kū ohhēgē kōlō Hamē dūt-ke nūsil
shoes put, eating-for preparation make We having-eaten merry
 hōbrangē, kā-chōlō-tō yē mērō gelpō lugitō-tō, nirku jik barō,
shall-become, why-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came,
 nukitō-lutpāsō, dhūmlō ’ Yē nhunke nablē nūsi hōbrē
lost-gone, was-found ’ This having-heard all glad became

Yē bakhat-kū wā-kō chaddō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō Ū khōk-kē
This time-at his big son field-in was He house-of
 pēsō barawādō, tab wā-kū gawalnō nachannō bunakke barō Yē
near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came These
 nākari-mē khēk-kū chol-ke, ‘kā nali hōbrē ? ’ nuchawādyō
servants-among one having-called, ‘what going-on is ? ’ asked
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwādō, ‘tērō rhāklō barawādō, ū nirō barke
Him-to him-by it-was-said, ‘thy brother came, he well having-come
 dhūmlō Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dūtnō kōlō ’ Ō
was-met That-of reason-from thy father feast made ’ That
 buq-ke wā-kō chaddō gelpō nusā hōbar-ke nitar hitō nañ
having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār barke, ‘nitar barawād,’
That-of reason-from his father outside having come, ‘inside come,’
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwādō, ‘mē
having said him-to much ’said He own father-to said, ‘I

itnē	naras	tallakh	tērō	nākrī	kōl-ke	kabī	tērō	rhāyadi
so-many	years	up-to	thy	service	having-done	ever	thy	word
lugai	naī	Nir-ho	mērō	nōs-kū	dhimalā-lē-kē	dūtan	kōlnē-kē	
broke	not	But	my	friends	having-gathered	feast	making-of	
khān-sū	tū	ma-kū	khēk	dhilyā	bī	kabī	naī	Nir-tū
reason-from	thon	me-to	one	hid	even	ever	not	But
khirānd-kā	naugāt-mū	company in	nad-ke	tērō	jingānī	nab	ningāl-bētēsō	
hai lots-of	gelpō	khōk-kū	having-fallen	thy	property	all	devoured-having	
vē	tērō	son	barē	narābar	tū	wā-kē	khāw-sē	dūtan
this	thy	house-to	coming	as-soon-as	thon	his	sake-for	feast
kōl	bētētō	Māwutō	gelpō-kū	son-to	chhōlwādō,	'tū	nabaļē	din
making	given-hast	Father	son-to	said,	'thou	all	days	
mīrō	hyā	Mērō	pēsō	hōbrēsō	nab	tērō-ch	Lugitōsō	tērō
of-me	nei	Me-of	near	being	all	thine	Dead-being	thy
rhāk]ō,	nirkū	baritō,	nukitō	hityāsō,	dhimlō	Yēsō	hamē	nuēi
by other,	again	life	came,	lost	gone,	was found	So	we
hōbarkū	narābar	hōbrē	is					very
to-become	proper							

[No 29]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYÄNWÄLE OR LHÄRI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Khêk	nānd-mē	dōg	chōngnē	chhōt	nōs	hōbrō	Khêk	din
One	village-in	two	beggars	much	friends	were	One	day
dōgū	dhimal-kē		nar-dēs-kū	hit-kē	khāw-sō	nichāi		
both	having-come-together		other-county-to	going-of	sake-for	thinning		
kōl-ke	khāpnī	pēsō	hōbrēsō	thōkō	lōkō	khêk	khiswāsūk	
having-made	self	near	being	little	money	one	honest	
chhudikī-kō	nābē-mē	khēch-ke,	'hamē	dōgū	dhimal-ke			
old-woman-of	possession-in	having-given,	'we	both	having-come-together			
chōngkū	barē-tō	yē	ham-kū	khichawād,'	yēsō	chōl-ke	nimal	hitē
asking-for	come-if	this	us-to	give,'	so	having-said	away	went
Khagādi	thōkō	din-kē	khūpar	wā-mē-sē	khēklā	nir-ke	wā	
Then	few	days-of	upon	them-in-of	one	having-returned	that	
chhudikī-kō	pēsō	hit-ke,	'māwutī,	mērō	nōs	rāt-mel	lugitō,	
old-woman-of	near	having-gone,	'mother,	my	friend	road-on	died,	
wā-kī	khāw-sē	hamārō	lōkō	khichawād,'	yēsō	khulwādō	I	chhōt
that of	sake-for	our	money	give,'	so	said	She	many
nabab	khulwādī,	lēkin	ū	bunkō	nañ	Nhēwati	i	wā
excuses	said,	but	he	heard	not	At-last	she	that
wā-kū	khichō	Thōkō	din-kē	khūpar	dukarō	wā	chhudikī	pēsō
him-to	gave	Few	days-of	upon	the-second	that	old-woman	near
bar-ke	nēt	chōngwādī	Tab	wā	chhudikī,	'rhākļō,	thōkō	
having-come	purse	demanded	Then	that	old-woman,	'brother,	few	
din-kā	ripohē	tērō	nōs	bar-ke,	tū	lugitō,	yēsō	chōl-ke
days-of	behind	thy	friend	having-come,	thou	diedst,	so	having-said
lōkō	chōngwādē	Wā-sē,	"tun	dōgū	dhimal-ke	barawād,"		
money	demanded	Him-to,	"you	both	having-come-together	come,"		
yēsō	chhōt	chōlwādō	Ū	mērō	rhāyadi	nañ	bun-ke	nulum-sē
so	much	said	He	my	would	not	having-heard	force-with
nab	lōkō	bētētō'	Wā-sē	ū	naikār-kō	pēsō	nurādē	
all	money	took-away'	That-from	he	government-of	near	compliment	

hitō Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kū chulā-kū bēt-kū nabaḷi
sent Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 nakhikat nuohō
facts asked

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road, therefore give my money to me'. She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

KANJARĪ

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of vagrant tribes. Mr W Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiṃya, Hābūra, Beriṃya Bhātu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliṃya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *silkī* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāśu* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks, and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *Salmaṃ* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers, others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachāra*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājāṃō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kajjā*, Naṭi *kājā* and Dōm *kājwā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Roman *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.	Number
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KIRKPATRICK, W.—*A Vocabulary of the Pas Boli or Argot of the Kuchbandiya Kanjars Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. vii, 1911, pp 277ff* Contains a bibliography of papers dealing with the Kanjars and connected tribes

KIRKPATRICK, W.—*Folk songs and Folk lore of the Gehara (Kanjars). ibidem, pp 437ff* Other papers by the same author are found *ibidem*, pp 609ff. (Exogamous Septs of the Gehara Section of Kuchbandia Kanjars), and pp 753ff (Oaths and Ordeals of the Geharas (Kanjars) of the Delhu District) They do not deal with the language.

We are very insufficiently informed about the language of the Kanjars, and it is possible that in most districts they use the dialect of their surroundings. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect Kanjari was returned from the following districts —

United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	6,735
Aligarh	.	.	.	.	.	800
Farrukhabad	.	.	.	.	.	435
Sitapur	.	.	.	.	.	3,000
Kheri	.	.	.	.	.	2,500
Central India	.	.	.	.	.	350
Gwalior	.	.	.	.	.	350
TOTAL						7,065

These figures are only loose estimates. Thus the number of Kanjars in Sitapur, where the estimated number of speakers was 3,000, was only 814 at the Census of 1901. On the other hand specimens of Kanjari have been forwarded from Etawah and Belgaum, where no such dialect was reported to exist. The state of affairs is similar to that which we find in the case of other vagrant tribes. The Kanjars largely adopt the dialect of their neighbours. If they want to avoid being understood, however, they, or at least some of them, avail themselves of an artificial argot, in which there is a certain number of peculiar words and where, in addition to these, ordinary words are used, but often in an altered shape, so as to become unintelligible to outsiders. So far as we can judge from the specimens, however, Kanjari differs from other Gipsy argots such as Naṭi in having a more uniform base. The prevailing language in Aligarh, Farrukhabad and Etawah is Western Hindī and in Sitapur and Kheri Eastern Hindī, while Kanarese and Marāṭhī predominate in Belgaum. The specimens received from all these districts, however, agree in so many particulars that we are almost justified in talking of a separate dialect. This dialect is, however, not a clearly defined form of speech, but a mixture of various languages, just as we should expect in the case of a vagrant tribe. But the mixture seems to be old and to have acquired a certain degree of constancy. The specimen received from Kheri, it is true, is written in Western Hindī, and only forms such as *ḍalā-mē*, in the heart, *basindā*, an inhabitant, show that the Kanjars from whose lips the specimen was taken down were not quite imbued with the grammar of that language. It seems likely that the Kheri specimen represents an attempt at talking Hindōstānī and not Kanjari, and we can safely leave it out of consideration when trying to define the position of the latter. Also the Farrukhabad specimen is strongly influenced by Hindōstānī.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*, thus, *gar ā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh), *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*, thus, *nanhāi-chakrā̃-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh), *aisā̃-sē*, years from (Sitapur), *nanhrā̃-lu*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form, thus, *ibō-lē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur), *bihāi-ō-mē*, in the property (Etawah), *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad), *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural, thus, *chūbhō*, son, *chūbhā*, sons, *bāphēlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affluities requiresome significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other agots such as Dōm, Natī and Sāī.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *lu*, *lū*, *lē* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sē̃* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Malvī. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *lā*, *lī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *udeiya*, Kanarese *da*¹.

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun, thus, *khachchhō napaū-khē̃*, to a good man (Sitapur), *ochhō batrā-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah), *apō laurī paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad), *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *yō*, *je*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *uō-nē*, by him (Aligarh), *uō lā*, his (Etawah), *igal*, this matter, *kēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad), *ūr*, *buō*, he, *urō lō*, his (Sitapur), *yō*, thou, *yūō-lu*, *uō-lu*, to thee, *uō-lu*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian, compare Tulu *i*, Kui and Old Telugu *iru*, you, Tamil Kanarese *avar* Gōndī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *i* is frequently suffixed, compare *hubbāi rai-i-ē*, is going on (Aligarh), *lugar-i-ō*, he beats (Sitapur), *rah-i-ō*, he remained (Aligarh), *ā-i-ō*, he came, *sun-i-ō*, he heard (Etawah), *ā-i-ō*, he came, *lugar-i-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur), *lut-r-ō*, I struck, *gang-r-ō*, I went, *dusā-r-ō*, I said, *hu-i-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *i* is sometimes followed by the termina-

¹ Compare, however, the Western Pākṛī ablative postposition *dō*, which is certainly Indo Aryan.

tion *s* of the past, thus, *lai-i-s*, did, said, *lhā-i-s*, ate, *pī-r-s*, drank, *karī-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh) ¹

Often the syllable *icār* or *bār* is added, compare Myānwālē *wād*, Ḍōm *ua*. Thus, *bat-icār*, dividing, *jibbār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur), *sun-icār-lo*, having heard, *kar-icār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum), *bat-bār*, having divided, *li-bbār-lē*, having taken, *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wād* instead of *icār*, thus, *mil-wād-ō hē*, *mil-icād-dō*, and *mil-icār-ō*, he is found, *tud-wād-ō*, broke, *pad-icād-lo*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *ō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *icāu*, Jaipuri *ād*, Gujarātī *āu*, *ād*. Forms such as *lhanēlō lai-icār-ō hai*, thou hast made a feast, *charicārdō*, grazing, *bandicār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *icār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added *i*, *icār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*, compare *larō*, did, *lagō*, began (Etawah). Forms such as *dinō*, gave, *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipuri. The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh), *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dis*, gave, *lis*, took, *sunigulis*, heard, *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), *linhis*, took, *dins*, gave (Etawah), *lakhārs*, said, *rūchhis*, asked, *kaughis*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī. Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *lahsū*, I will say, *karugasā*, we will do (Aligarh), *lakhāwsū*, I will say, *lugaoghasī*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur), *huggā*, it will be, *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad), *hōicungā*, I shall be, *kuṭungō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jānū*, I shall go, *kahnū*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipuri forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Compare *tildō*, giving, *augadō*, coming, *jaugadō*, *jāddō*, gone (Aligarh), *maddō*, dying, *kaddō*, doing, *rahandō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah), *lugaōddō*, beating, *jaughadō*, going (Sitapur), *hōndō*, being, *nikhadō*, going, *awadō*, coming, *margōddō*, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rahō* and *rs* of *rahes* both meaning 'was', and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pnbāpī this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *ārō* may be for *ā-rahō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rahō* is the 'sister' of *hōnd*—G. A. G.

time, thus, *chalgudaũ*, I go, *dũtdaẽ*, they eat (Ahgarh), *lugdaũ*, I die, *aughadõ*, he is coming (Sitapur), *maĩadũ*, I die, *dẽndũ*, I give, *ãndũ*, I come, *nikkãdaũ*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handõ*, was (Ahgarh), *jãdõ*, was sent (Etawah), *ãndã*, came, *laĩndã*, said (Farrukhabad), *hũdõ*, was, *lugaõdõ*, struck (Sitapur), *handõ*, was, *bharĩcãĩ-lẽndõ*, would have filled, *gavãndẽ-gaudõ*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndõ* of the present participle of Sindhĩ and Naipālĩ. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjarĩ, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *qir* in forms such as *lagĩrõ*, began (Ahgarh, Etawah, Sitapur), *ãgõguõ*, came, *augũõ*, came, *gaĩguõ*, went, *lugaughũõ*, I have beaten, *jaõghĩrõ*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *u*, is, *lu*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rājasthānĩ. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gõnd dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

Kanjarĩ contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die, *lugaĩ*, beat (Sitapur), *chũbhlõ*, son (Ahgarh and Sitapur), *tepuĩ*, bread (Ahgarh and Sitapur), *jhũlũl*, dog (Sitapur), *dũt*, eat (Ahgarh and Sitapur), *thũr*, eat (Belgaum), *jhuraĩ*, fire (Sitapur), *gundãlẽ*, foot (Belgaum), *gurãrõ*, foot (Ahgarh and Sitapur), *tũĩ*, give (Sitapur), *kĩdõ*, give (Belgaum), *riõ*, house (Ahgarh and Sitapur), *nandõ*, house (Belgaum), *kãjarõ*, man (Etawah), *kãjarõ*, man (Belgaum), *najaũ*, man (Sitapur), *tĩg*, see (Ahgarh and Sitapur), *nĩmãĩnĩ*, water (Sitapur), *nũcãĩnĩ*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pãdõ*, bull, *awarõ*, comes, *kĩdõ*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *mãdu*, bull, *vara*, come, *kodu*, give, respectively, and *tũĩr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tara*, give. Mr Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhĩmrĩ*, bread, *ghamẽlã*, sun, *khaĩnch*, thief, *khũth*,

night, *kūich*, drink, *mīlatch*, death, *nunghār*, ghee, *rikā*, rupee, *tigro*, see, *tūbargo*, swim, *tūriah*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamēlā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Roman *lham*, sun, *lit* heat.

With regard to the word *ghūlil*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *ghūkal* in Mr Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *julel*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qasāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp 180ff, and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *lō* is prefixed in *lōhath*, hand (Sitapur), *lh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *lhachchā*, good, *lhalāl*, famine, *lhyārō-kē*, of the friends (Aligarh), *lhamāl*, property (Kheri), *lhāgēlē*, before, *lhādmī*, man, *lhaicāy*, sound, *lhalāl*, famine (Sitapur), *lhandar*, inside, *lhūpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials, compare *chibaricā-lū*, to fill (Aligarh), *chibrō*, big, *chibhāi*, brother, *chhūlā-sē*, from hunger, *chhītar*, inside (Sitapur), *chait*, sit, *chibaddō*, big, *chaulā-kē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *talhni*, eye, *dhaiiō*, poor, *dhlāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*), *dhusi*, merry (Sitapur), *dharō*, big (Aligarh).

N only occurs as a substitute for *l* or *lh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur), *nayaū*, man, compare *lājārō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pādō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *mādu* or Hindostānī *sāḍ*, *bēl*, one, *baur*, and, *būō*, that (Sitapur).

R is of more common occurrence. Compare *rakriā-kō rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh), *rahnāō*, put on, *īarmēsūr*, God, *rusāk*, cloth, *riūchhis*, asked, *īanāi*, make, *rahut*, much, *rūlak*, country, *ranjūrā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds, compare *ruāb*, answer, *ramā*, together, *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lalhāusū*, I will say (Sitapur), *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *līlārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *i* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gūārō*, foot, *bhaiyāiā*, brother (Aligarh), *chhutārō*, small, *īhurārā*, few (Sitapur), *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar

argots The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials available —

g or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come, *lūghis*, took, *haughē*, is (Sitapur), *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum) The initial consonant of the suffix *gu* (*ghur*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind

An element *etō* or *ēlhō* is comparatively often added Thus, *papētō*, sin, *malēṭhō*, property (Aligarh), *hattētō*, hand, *khanētō*, food (Belgaum)

A dental has been added in words such as *ramtā*, pity (Sitapur), *chamakdē*, lustre, *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum)

A common suffix is *ēlō*, thus, *khatēlā-mē*, on the hand, *batēlī*, words (Aligarh), *hūēlū*, share, *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur), *kakēlē*, eye, *jībēlī*, tongue (Belgaum) Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō*, thus, *dubēlū*, two, *tibēlū*, three, *bap-hēlō*, father, *bhus-hēlī*, chaff, *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp 180ff that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR

Bēk najaū dublū chūbhā raughasā Bithi-mā chhutārō bap-hēlā-sē
One man(-of) two sons were Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō lusēlū jō khujārā-sē niphre, sō tiūr'
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give'
 Bihi batwār tiūris Thurārā dīn-hēlā chhutārō chūbkō
He having-divided gave Few days-in small son
 ramā-kai-kō iūlak chailō gaughurō, baur apnō mallhēlō
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurāo dīnhus Jab sab khurāo tiūris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl
casted gave When all casted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghurō, baur dharib hō-gaō Tab us rōlkō-mā bēk
fell, and poor becoming-went Then that country-in one
 ralakk khādmī tīr raughan lagirō Birō apnō nētū ghurghur
wealthy man near to live began He own field sown
 chariwnē pathāis Birō chaughurō blus-hēlī jō ghurghur dūta-dāf
to-seed sent He wished husks which sown eating-were
 dūt-kō pit-hēlō bharighis Nak-hēlū kōi na tiūris Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill But anybody not gave Then
 khōsō ān-kē lakhāis, 'mēiō bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū tipūi bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughurī, baur māi chhūkā-sē lugdaū Māi khunar-kē
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am I having-arisen
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, baur birō-sē lakhāwsū, "āi bap-hēlā, māi-nē
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by
 khasmānō-kē dhlāp baur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis, māi tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before in done-was, I thy
 chūbkō lakhāibāwālō nahī Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāi " ' Tab
son one-to be called not Me servants-of like make " ' Then
 bihi apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughurō Abhaī woh durhēlū, birō-kē
he own father near went Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hēlā tik-kē ramta kinhus, baur rapat-kē urō-kō dhalē
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāi lūghis, baur rahut chumhēlō Chūbkō kaughis, 'bap-hēlā,
attaching took, and much kissed Son said, 'father,

tērō dhunā kinhaũ, baur rarmēsūrō-kō dhunā kinhaũ, birā lāk-kō
of-thee sm I-did, and God-of sm I-did, now worthy
 nahĩ ki phir tērō chũbkō lakhaũ ' Bap-hēlā apnē
not that again thy son I-shall-be-called.' Father own
 nukarhēlā-kō lakhāis, ' aohhi rusāk nuphar hāō, baur urō-kū rahnāō,
servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on,
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgūthi gurārā-mā gurārī rahnāō Ham dutāĩ
him-of hand-on ring feet-on 'shoes put-on We may-eat
 baur dhusi° hōē Mērō chũbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jibbārō,
and merry may-be My son dead become-was, now revived,
 khubbārō gaō-thō, ab milghirō ' Tab woh dhusi karnũ lagirō.
lost gone-was, now was-found.' Then they merry to-make began
 Chibrō chũbkō nētō-mā hũdō Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēlā aughirō,
Big son field-in was When house-of near came,
 gabbāribō nach-hēlā-kī khawāj sunghirō Baur bēk nukarhēlā-kō
music dancing-of sound heard And one servant-to
 rulāo kē riūchhis, ' yō kā haughē? ' Wō us-sē lakhāis, ' tērō
having-called asked, 'this what is? ' He him-to said, 'thy
 chibhāi aughirō, tērō bap-hēlā-nē barī rāfat kinhis, birā-rātē birō-kō
brother came, thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
 khachehhō paughis ' Ruthwār raughirō chhītar jaughirō-na Birō-kē
well found' Angry got inside went-not Him-of
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāũnō lagirō Bap-hēlā-kū ruāb
father outside came and to-entreat began Father-to answer
 tūris, ' tigō, itnī rarsā-sē māĩ tērī dhujmit karũ, tērē dhuknō-kē
gave, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do, thy order-of
 dhulāp na chalughē Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō kī māĩ
against not went One goat-of young-one not gavest that I
 apnē dhusēlā-kē sāth dhusi ranāūtō Jaisē tērō chhutārō chũbkō
own friends-of with merry might-make As thy young son
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō dhasbiyā-mā khurāis, tū bunhā-kī barī
came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big
 rāfat kinhis ' Urū-kō ūr lakhāis, ' aī chũbkā, khamēsā tū mērē
feasting madest' Him-to he said, ' O son, always thou of-me
 tir hāis, jō mērō haughē, sō tērō baughē Dhusi
near art, what mine is, that thine is merry
 ranāē, dhusi hurū, tērō chibhāi lugirō-thō, sō jibbārō, khubbār
should-make, merry should-be, thy brother dead-was, he revived, lost
 gayō-thō, phir milghirō '
gone-was, again was-found'

A specimen of Kanjari has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindostāni, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows

[No 31]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ

SPECIMEN II

DISTRICT KHERI

Ēk bāpkē dō nēkrū thē Lahaurē nōkrē-nē apnē bāp-sē
One father-of two sons were Younger son-by own father-to
 kahā, 'ayē bāp, apnē khamāl wis-mē-sō mērā bātā dē, jō
it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which
 mērē bātē-mē āc' Tab us-nū dōnō nēkrō-kō balwā bāṭī
my share in may-come' Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
 divā Aur lahaurē betē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr kō
was-given And younger son-by own property having-taken far
 mulkā-mē jātā rahā aur apnā balwā haram khaurī-mē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
 urāyā Sab jab ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl parēō aur
squandered All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and
 woh hō gayā nangā Us mulkā-mē ēk basindā-kē tīrē
he becoming went naked That country-in one resident-of near
 jāī lagā Us-nē usē sūī chugānē-kō khēt-mē
having-gone attached-himself Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
 ghulāyā Apnē dilā-mē sōchā kī un chhulō-kō jō sūr khāilā
sent Own heart-in thought that this hushs which some ate
 un-par pēt bharē, us-kō kōī khānē-kō dētā nahī thā Apnē
those-on belly may-fill, him-to anybody eating-for giving not was Own
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā kī, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādmī rōṭī
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō martī-hū Maī uṭhī-kē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am I having-arisen own
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahangrā-hū kī, "bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā barā kasūr kaiā Is lāek hū ab
me-by shy and of-thee big son was-made This worthy am now
 nahī kī phir tērā bētā kahangrā, kī bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants
 tērē lāgē haī, ēk mujhē bhī lāgī jān''
thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider''

The Kanjarī of Aligarh contains a strong Rājasthānī element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the *s*-suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindi.

KANSAHI

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT VI - 1164111

Kumu ka	dō	chūhka	thi	Ira m̃	u	chihōfū	u	bapō	to
Some-one-of	two	sons	were	This	in	from	you	were	father to
kairs	ki,	'hīpū,	utthi m̃	si	tibho	nu	ro'	I	ro
said	that,	'father,	property in	from	are	var'		He	to
baṭh	dis	Thoṛ	dura m̃	chihōfū	batro	nab	thi	lak	tho
having-divided	gare	I	day in	small	at	property		to	other
kairs,	apuo	hībār ki	par	des	chaluro	garuro		Huā	ph
made,	own	having taken	of	his-country	those			They	not
kairs	aur	khārs	pīs	urās	thar	h	tar	tibi	
did	and	etc	diant	squar	d	et		over	re
kaehlu	Tab	huī	khakal	dharro	huro	Dut	das	ta	huro
anything	Then	Here	turn	ing	become	I	at	s	are
pallē	na	rurō	Tab	kumu	bha	w	mo	ki	hulla
in-possession	not	remained	Then	son	rich	man	of	expire	at
jā	lagirō		Uro	m	apuo	ut̃i-m̃	huro	chu	anu
going	was	attached	Then	by	own	fields	in	some	to
Wuī	chahdo	tho,	'jin	khap̃tī	ghurur	dutibō	tho	wu	urā
He	wishing	was,	'each	his	some	eating	were	those	I
tukhulo	chubarwā-kū	huudo'		Urī	ko	to	tibho	it	Tab
belly	filling-for	am(-prepared)'		How-to	anyone	given	to'		Then
urō-kū	khōs	ā-grō,	tab	uro	nī	kairs	ki,	'tūo	ki
him-to	sense	came,	then	him	by	said	that,	'so	that
balutērā	rahuī	tipuī	dūt	dī	ur	chihū	ārō	papardū	
many	servants	bread	are	eating	and	hungry	I	starve	Now
chalgudānū	bap̃tī-kē	thaur	jāgsū	ur	uro	so	kahsū,	"bap	tī,
am-going	father-of	near	will-go	and	him	to	will-say,	'father,	me
tērē	igē	Bhagwānō-kō	parp̃to	kēro,	ab	urā	to	ro	chubkō
of-thee	before	God-of	sin	was-done,	now	I	thy	son	to-say
lak	na	rahiro	Apua	rahuā-kut	ma	ur̃	mo	kū	rakhu
worthy	not	am	Own	servants	among		me		putting
Huā-se	wa	chaligurō	hypo-kē	thaur	augiro	Daro	sē	tūdē	bap̃tī-kī
There-from	he	moved	father-of	near	came	Far-from	seeing	father-of	
chhātī	bhanyārī,	wūā-sē	nipharro,	urō	kū	garā	so	lagi	his
breast	was-filled,	there-from	went,	him-to	neck	to	clasping	too	and

l'ahut chuumu hi Bipō sē batrī-nī kauran ki, 'ō bāpū, tērē
 mero kaurā to! Father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee
 is Bhagwanō ko papētō kero, māī tērō chūbko kahwā lāk na
 'ere Gudōt sin was-don, I thy son to-say with thy not
 rahō' Then bipō-nī māukar chakrī-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē
 re n ed' Then father by servant's to said that, 'good-in
 kī chub tūpkā hīkro aur irī-kū pēdīno, aur irī-kō khatelā-mē
 and clothes from and him to put-on, and him of hand-on
 chhāpēh pēdī til aur irī-kī gufārī-mē gufārī dār til Chalō,
 ring put-on are and from of foot-on shoes putting give Come,
 bhānī bhāgūnī kit-kū ki mero jī batrō mar-gūgīrō, phēr jī
 mero re chhōtō aī, bhānī mī this son dead-gone-is, again alive
 pānīro jī angadō ruro tho, phēr a-gogīrō' Aur sab khusī
 tē, tē, tē' remaining was, again came' And all merry
 hīn hīn
 tē tē tē

Uro angīro uro ko hup batrō nē-mē thō Uro angīro aur jāh
 That after that of his son fields in was He came and when
 tē tē thānē pahūchagīro urō nī gīwā-ko aur nachwā-kō khāhās
 he of was came him by singing of and dancing-of sound
 angīro Aur urō mē kō nūkrīthī bulhārs aur lakhārs ki, 'jī
 re chhōtō' And from of one servant called and said that, 'this
 is bulhār tūpē' Aur urō mē urō sē jī lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōtō
 tē tē chhōtō aī' And him by him to this said that, 'thy small
 bhānīro hīn hīn angīro Tērō bipō mē khātārī kari-gurō, kit-kū-ki urō
 brother returning came Thy father by feast done-was, because he
 chhōtō nīn hīn angīro' Tāh urō-ko rī a-gogīrī, bāhī-sē urō-kō bapētō
 and all came' Then him to anger came, therefore him-of father
 rahōs' hīn hīn angadō ruro urō-ko mānīdo Urō-nē bapētā-kū
 from-from having come of came was him enticed Him-by father-to
 utar dī, 'tū hīp tīgī itū bārī-sē māī-nē tērī khēbārī
 answer was given, 'thou father sū, so-many years-from me-by thy service
 tērī, bādār tērī bādārī dīrūrī nī, tū-bī tē nē ēk rakrīā-kō
 was don, erer thy word was broken not, still thee by one goat-of
 richchā mō tū nā tūlo ki apnā khīārī-kō sang rāy uḡādō,
 young one me to not was queen that own friends of with merry might-make,
 pānī pānī jī tērō chhōtō aī, urō-nē hīrīkīāpuchō-mē mālētho sab
 but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all
 nī dī, tū mē urō-kō hīn pātēlī dīnī' Uro-nē
 equandering gave, thee by him of for the sake feast was given' Him-by

urō-sī lakhārs, 'ī chūbkā, tū kadū mer thaur rabbirō, jō mīre
him-to said, 'O son, thou always at-me near art, what at-me
 pasēlō hubbīrō, sō sab tērō-ī hubbīr. Ham Thus Jarugī, bit bu-ki
near is, that all thine only is We merry shall make, because
 tērō jī bhayārī marugirō, phēr jabbār-ī, aur jī jūdo raurō,
thy this brother dead was, again having come to-life, and he lost was,
 phēr ā-gūgirō'
again came'

The specimens received from Utawah are essentially of the same kind as the preceding ones. Note, however, the future forms *janō*, I will go, *lotō* I will say, and the greater admixture of Hindōstānī

[No 33]

GIPSY LANGUAGES

KANJARI

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH

Kisi kãjarũ-kẽ dũ batrã the Ochhũ batrã-nẽ dã-sẽ kahĩ
Some man-of two sons were Small son-by father-to it-was-said
 kĩ, 'arẽ dũ, bihãrũ mẽ jũ mẽrũ rĩkã hai, mẽrũ dẽ-dẽ'
that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give'
 Tab us-nũ un-kũ apnĩ bihãrũ bãṭṭ dĩa Bahut din
Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given Many days
 [na] hũgã kĩ õchhũ batrã sab kuchh ikatthã kar-kẽ dũsrẽ
[not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other
 mulk-kũ gawã au apnĩ bihãrũ uãwã Tab wã mulk-mẽ
country-to went and own wealth was-squandered Then that country-in
 barũ akãl pairũ aur wah kangãl hũ gawã Aur wã
big famine fell and he destitute becoming went And that
 mulk-kẽ rihandũ-mẽ-sũ ãk-kĩ jahã rahan lagũ, jis-nẽ usẽ apnẽ
country-of inhabitants in from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own
 khẽtũ-mẽ suar chãrã jãdũ Aur un chhĩmyũ-sẽ jinhẽ suar
fields-in some to-tend was-sent And those husks-from which swine
 khãtẽ thũ apnũ udrũ bhar lĩhis, aur kũĩ na dẽnẽ tũ Tab
eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was Then
 usẽ chẽtany huẽ, tab wã-nẽ kahĩ kĩ, 'mẽrũ dã-kẽ
to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 kũnẽ majũrũ-kũ jãfat-sẽ barh rũṭĩ hũtĩ hai, aur mãĩ
how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I
 bhũkhũ maddũ hũ Mãĩ uth-kẽ apnẽ dã dhĩg jãnũ aur
with-hunger dying am I having-arisen own father near will-go and
 wã-sẽ kahũ kũ, "he dã, mãĩ-nẽ baikunth-kẽ ultẽ ãp-kẽ sũdhẽ
him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before
 pãp karũ hai Mãĩ phĩr ãp-kẽ batrã kahãnẽ kãm-kã nahĩ
sin done is I again you-Honour-of son to be-called worthy not
 Mujhẽ apnẽ majũrũ-mẽ-sẽ ãk-kẽ barabbar karwã"
Me own servants-in-from one-of like make"

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindũstãnĩ Note also Pañ-jãbĩ terminations such as *bich*, *vich*, in, and the doubling of consonants in words such as *Jaggã*, began The general character of this form of Kanjari will be apparent from a perusal of the short specimen which follows

[No 34]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI

SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARUKHABAD

Ikk chör kisū ghar-bich ghus-gavā aur andhērē-mā dhūdhū lagga
One thief some house-in entering went and darkness-in to search began
 kī, 'kōi dāmō-dī chij hāth laggē, tō lai jāū'
that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be applied, then taking may-go'
 Achchānak ikk sandūkh par thukkar lagga Chör-nē utthā
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied Thief-by having-lifted
 hā Sandūkh bhāri thā Man-rieh suchchā kī, 'i-mā
was taken Box heavy was Blind-in it-was thought that, 'this-in
 māl huggā' I-gal man-rieh sōch ghar-sū bāhar andā
property will-be' This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out came
 aur ikk bagiyā-rieh jhārī-dī ōt wath-lar kī-sū talā khōlnē
and one garden-in bush of behind having sat-down nail-with lock to-open
 laggā kī, 'unā-dā māl nikāsū' I karū
began that, 'that-of property I-may-take out' This doing
 bājā-dī kōi kal chal-gai jī-sū hījā bījū
musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to play
 laggā Chör-nē dar-dē mārē bājā patak-mārā aur sanūdē
began Thief by fear-of from instrument was-thrown down and own
 jān lē-kar bhaggā I ' bīg-dā māli chör-dē paggān dē
life taking fled This garden-of gardener thief-of footstep-of
 'that-sē jaggā aur dēkhnē laggā kī, 'i kē-gal hai?
sound-from awake and to see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
 Sarhī-dā jān parā kī jhārī-rieh bījā-dē āwāj nikas
Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out
 rahī hai Tō i-kō chōr-sē kam dar nahī laggā
remaining is Then this-to thief-from small fear not was attached
 Dar-dē mārē māli bhī utthē-sū bhuggā aur bāg-dē mālik-sē
Fear-of on-account gardeners also there-from fled and garden-of owner-to
 i-gal laindā kī, 'bagiyā-rieh bhūt ā-gavō' Ū-nē bagiyā
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit came' Him-by garden
 ghēr-lai aur jhārī-dē ōt khūsī karandā-hai
was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush.

• In Belgaum the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjari. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI

SPECIMEN VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ekkan	kājarō-ku	jaudō	baidā	handā	Unā-mā	nunkō	baidō
One	man-to	two	sons	were	Them-among	younger	son
apanē	bāpō-ku	sidārō,	'bāpō,	tērō	jindgī-mā	mērō	ēwākō
own	father-to	said,	'father,	thy	property-in	mine	coming
mau-ku	kidō	Bāpō-nē	unā-mā	apani	jindgī	batwārrō	Nunkō
me-to	give	Father-by	them-among	own	property	divided	Younger
baidō	apani	hissō	lēwar-ko	dūr	gaū-kō	nikhar-ko,	bahut
son	own	share	taking	far	village-to	having-gone	many
hōiā-nā	ittā-mā	ē	dundī	hōwār-ko	apani	jindgī	sab
became-not	this-much-in	he	notous	having-become	own	property	all
lutwārrō	Ē	aisō	karwār-ko	khūpar	wō	mulkō-mā	chibaddō
wasted	He	thus	having-done	after	that	country in	big
girwār-ko	urū-ki	garibī	awarri	Ē	wō	mulkō-mā	ekkan
having-fallen	him-of	poverty	came	He	that	country-in	one
kājarā-kē	pās	naukrī	rhairō	Wō	kājarō	urō-ku	dukrē
man-of	near	in-service	stayed	That	man	him	swine
apani	khētō-ku	lagā-dinū	Whā	bhūkō-dē	talmal-ko	dukrē	
own	field-to	employing-gave	There	hunger-from	having-suffered	swine	
khāndāsō	bhussō-bi	thūr-ko	pētō	bharwār-lēndō,	phir-tu	urū-ku	
eaten	husks-even	having-eaten	belly	filling-took,	but	him-to	
kirō-kē	pās-dē	kā-bi	milwārō-nā	Aisō-ch	thōdā	din	
anybody-of	near-from	anything-even	was-got-not	Thus	few	days	
hurā,	apani	pichawādkē	batēli	yād	hōwār-ko	ē	apani
became,	own	former	state	remembrance	having-become	he	own
jī-mā	dusārō,	'mērō	bāpō-kē	hyā	aisā	bahutdē	naukrā-ku
mind-in	said,	'my	father-of	with	so	many	servants-to
bharwār-ko	jāstī	hōwār-ittō	khanētō	milwāddō,	phir-tu	hyā	
having-filled	excess	becoming-so-much	food	is-got;	but	here	
maī-tō	bhukā-dē	mardū	Maī	khut-ko	mērō	bāpō-kē	
I-on-my-side	hunger-from	dying-am	I	having-arisen	my	father-of	
hyā	nikhar-ko	dusārō,	"bāpō,	maī	mahābūb-kō	pāp	awar
there	having-gone	say,	"O-father,	I	God-of	son	and

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō Maĩ tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-kī wā-ku
father-of son attaching took I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādik-mā, mau-ku ekkan naukrō-kō sarikhō tērō najik rahhwār-tī ''
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-take''
 Ē whā-dē khut-ko apāni bāpō-kō pās awardō, bāpō-nī urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukad-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
 lē-ko chummā dinō Tabī baidō bāpō-ku dusārō, 'bāpō,
having-taken kiss was-given Then son father-to said, 'father,
 maĩ mahābūb-kā sambōr tērō sambōr takhīr karō-hī Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-hate Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dusārō-nā ' Use bāpō-nē apānī naukrō-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not' That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, 'ufchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw, ungalva-mā
was-said, 'high dress having-brought my son-to put-on, finger-on
 angōtī dalwārō, gundālē-mā jūtā dalwārō, khañētā-kī tayāri
ring put, feet-on shoes put, dinner-of preparation
 karwār Hamē thur-kō khusāl hōwungā Kaikutu yō mērō
make We having-eaten merry shall-become Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarī, gawānde-gaudō, millō-hī ' Yē
son died, again life came, lost-gone, found-is' This
 sunwār-ko sārā khusāl hurā
having-heard all merry became

^

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibaddō baidō khētō-mā handō Ē
This time-at his big son field-in was He
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gānō awar rang sunwār
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
 awarrō Ē naukar-mā-dē ekkaṇ-ku chaulā-ko, 'kā challō
came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, 'that going-on
 hē? ' dusār-ko puchwārrō Use ē sidārō, 'tērō bhai
is?' having-said asked That-to he said, 'thy brother
 awarō-hē, ē khusī-de awar-ko pohachārō, urū-ko wāsdē tērō
come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for the sake thy
 bāpō-nē khañtō karwārō-hē ' Yō sunwār-ko urō-ku chibaddo baidō
father-by feast made-is' This having-heard he big son
 khandar gaugrō-nā Us wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nī bhar awar-ko,
inside went-not That for his father-by outside having-come,
 'khandar awar,' kar-ko urū-ku bahut sidārō 'Use ē apānī
'inside come,' having-said him-to much was said That to he own

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'mañ itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabī
father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service having-done ever
 tērō batēli tudwādō-nā Phur-tō-bī mañ mērō dōstañ-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy would broke-not But I my friends-to having-collected
 khañēṭō karwār-ko wāsdō yō mau-ku ekkan bakrā bī
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
 dīnō-nā Phur-tu rāṇḍañ-ko sōbatī-mā padwād-ko tērō sārī jindgi
given-not But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
 mingal-linōdo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō
having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thce
 urō-ko wāsdō khañēṭō karwārō-hē ' Bāpō-nō baidā-ku dusārō,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is ' Father-by son-to said,
 'yō mērō sangāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī
' thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
 tērī-ch hē Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phur-ku jidē utrō hē ,
thine-only is Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is ,
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē Aisō bamē khuṣī hōwār-ku byādīk hē '
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is '

[No 36]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Brüdō, maī kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maī
Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maī ārō harōbar dīn nigarō Yō utawā-ko
cast-from come, and I come immediately day comes You arising
 bakhat hurrō-to maī mērō sunnā-kē sarikō hattētō tērō kludkī-mā-dē
time comes then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uthāndū Yō bichhāpā-pō padwād rhaiko
stretched having-made you acahen You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maī āndū-nā Yō utwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitāb padwā-ko
for I come-not You having-risen to bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sālī-ku nikhār-wā-kē wāsdē maī āndū. Maī nīrō chalwār-nēwālō hū
for school-to to-go for I come I good walker am.
 Maī rastō chalwār-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkān dīn
I road having-icalked sly-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū Maī kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō sir-pō jhalak
becomes -I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not My head-on shining
 sunnā-kī tāj hē Ūs-kī chamakdē maī chau-taraph phēkadū-hē
gold-of crown is That-of light I four-directions throwing-am
 Nīwānī-pō nandā-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū Mērō chamakdē gīrrōsō,
Water-on houses-on trees on my rays spread My light fallen,
 sab chijē khapsūrat awar rōsānī nazar āndī Maī yurō-ku ujālō dēndū,
all things beautiful and shining sight go I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maī-ch dēndū Maī phalārī awar anāj pakāndū Maī
and sunskue also I-alone give I fruit and corn ripen I
 asmānō-mā bahut kluñchō hū Sabi dzhādān-dē dōngarān-dē abar-dē
sly-in much high am All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maī kluñchō hū
I high am

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east The moment I come, the day breaks When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you I don't come to see you lying in bed I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school I am a fast traveller I take but one day to travel round the whole sky I am never tired nor do I ever halt I have a shining gold crown upon my head I throw its light in all directions I spread my rays over water, houses and trees All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant I give you light as well as heat I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains

KUCHBANDHĪ

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *lūch*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjari. Note the genitive suffix *ō* and the word *gihar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called Pārsī, or, according to Mr Kirkpatrick, Pāsi.

[No 37]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI

KUCHBANDHI DIALECT

DISTRICT BAHRAICH

Ek gihar-kē dui batrā rahin Arō-mā-tū chhōṭkawā batrū aprū
One man-of two sons were Them-in-from younger son own
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhri-mā jaun hamrō hīsā hōc
father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be
 taun bātū dēō' Tab-hī bāt dīnhō Thōrē dīn bītrē
that dividing give' Then dividing was-given Few days passed
 ohhōṭkawā batrū sab hīsā aprū jamā kīnhō ek mulkō-rō
younger son all share own together made one count-y-of
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprū mālō chalākī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting
 dīnhō Jab kaurī nahī rah gayō tabc ū mulkō-mā
was-given When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in
 barō kāl pirō Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ek
big famine fell Then he poor to-be began and that count-y-of one
 basām-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō Ū arō-kō i kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began He him-to this said that,
 'khētān-mā suar char hāō'
'fields-in sunne tending take'

NATĪ

The Nats are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes, and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows —

Number of Nats.	Assam	5,143
	Bengal	9,979
	Bihar and Orissa	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar	11,385
	United Provinces	68,376
	Central India Agency	10,090
	Rajputana Agency	8,447
	Elsewhere	7,357
	TOTAL	126,428

The name Nat is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor.' It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bēriyās in Etawah, Brijbāsīs, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahāri Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Nats.

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Nats. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Nat language, returned under the name of *naṭṭī-bōlī*, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsī, Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows —

Language		
Bengal		4,584
Bhagalpur	4,584	
United Provinces		6,950
Aligarh	250	
Mainpuri	2,000	
Etawah	400	
Bijnor	1,000	
Rampur	300	
Kheri	2,500	
Bahraich	500	
	TOTAL	11,534

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Natī. The various clans classed together under the head of Nats speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsi. This argot has

Nat Argot

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Nats of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *batīā*, sons, *batīā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *batrē-nē*, by the son, *qayō*, went, and *lipā*, went, in Mainpurī, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Nats whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rajasthan. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Natī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Natī* and *Natō kī bōlī* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Nats.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Nats contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, boy, *būnā*, *chhaī*, water, *chhumlai*, day, *chhapuā*, go, *dimnā*, *dūtnī*, cat, *gēm*, *gam*, thief, *kājā*, cultivator, squire, *khollā*, house, *khum*, mouth, *lagnā*, die, *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull, *nāl*, night, *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned, *tōgnā*, drunk, *tundā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasnabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 311-316 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. 1, 1862.

The great majority of Natī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khum*, mouth (Bijnor), *chūbkā* = *bachchā*, young (Mainpurī).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *k* is prefixed in forms such as *kōt*, eighth (Rampur), *kōdmī*, man, and substituted for an initial *ū* in *kāit*, share (Mainpurī). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khī-mālai*, property, *khimēiā*, my, *khandar*, inside, *khakāl*, famine, *khōtā*, small, *khm*, day, *khēlai*, belly, *khaināi*, having put on, *khād*, after, *khujhē*, me (all from Mainpurī), *khachchī*, water, *khunaddī*, river, *khapanī*, water, *khabdā*, big one, Sir, *khabhēdiā*, wolf (all from Bijnor), *khaneī*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakai*, seize, Hindōstānī *pakar*, *khacholtē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bōlnā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūkal*, *hungering*, *chhuk* = *mulh*, country (Mainpurī), *chhōd* = *bahut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jatūp* = *bātā*, share, *jaiā* = *baiā*, big (Rampur), *ghuā* = *burā*, evil, *janāyā* = *bhāyā*, brother (Mainpurī), but also in cases such as *ghēh*, one, *ghakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*, thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field, *nāttī* = *chhātī*, breast, *nautāj* = *mohtāj*, wanting, *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri), *nichhē* = *pīchhē*, after, *nanmēśwar* = *parmēśwar*, God, *nāth* = *sāt*, seven, *nū* = *tū*, thou, *nē* = *thē*, were, *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur), *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bithē*, to him (Mainpuri), *bōi* = *aur*, and, *būki*, watchman (Rampur), and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *lahā*, said, *myō* = *lyū*, why? *māhtā* = *chāhtā*, wishing, *mār* = *pyār*, love, *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluh*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word, thus, *mēllhē* = *khēt*, field, *musikhē* = *khusi*, merry, *mōḷāchhē-nē* = *chhōtē-nē*, by the younger one, *mēlēbē* = *bētē*, sons, *māpbē* = *bāp*, father, *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy, *muaisē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *lalpā* = *chalā*, went, *lalchālī* = *badchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri), *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear, *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur), *rōtka* = *chhōtā*, small, *rabthō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp 180ff, in the word *tyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāe*, while *tyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khēṭar* = *pēt*, belly, *khimālar* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri), *labā* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *l* and *g* in forms such as *laugā* and *kōkā*, said, *gaugā*, went, *raugā*, stayed, *paugā*, got (Mainpuri), *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur), *kujā*, made (Bijnor), cerebrals in forms such as *lagādnā*, to apply (Bijnor), *lugānā*, to beat (Rampur), *puchhwaō*, asked (Mainpuri), *t* in forms such as *khabāptā*, father (Etawah), *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give, *lalpā*, went, *lupāi*, applying, *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two, *bāpsā-lē*, of the father (Rampur), *kūluā*, to do, and the curious forms *jālurnā*, go, *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri), *ālre*, came (Rampur), *jāsurtā*, going (Rampur), *āsīā*, came (Bijnor), and so forth

It will be seen from the figures given above on p 121 that most speakers of Natī in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Natī slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabāz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindōstānī dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindōstānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases, compare *rajētō chīndā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jhaīā batrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields), *batrā-nē* and *batrē-nē*, by the son, *dhōr batrā hoichchā*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ)

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT MAINPURI

Bĕg rajĕttē-kē dhōr batrā hoichchē Uthī-mē-thi khōtē batrā-nē
One man-of two sons ice e Them-in-fi om small son-by
 chhūārā-thī kaugā kī, 'ēyō chhūārā, khumālai-kā khussā khumērā
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichchā hai thō khujhē deppī deppō ' Tō tabi uthī-nē khumālai-kī
becoming is that me having-given give' And then him-by property-of
 kāt kūllī deppā Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōtē batrē-nē sabī
shares having-made was-given Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchh namā kūll-kē bēg dūi-kī khulk-kō hlpā Wahā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went There own
 khumālai kuchālī khurāē deppā Aur jabi sabī
property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given And when all
 hoichchī gaugā uthī khulk-mē pharā khakāl hoichchā, aur wah
having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nautāj hoichchī gaugā Tabi uthī khulk-kā bēg rajĕttō chīndā
in-want having-become went Then that country-of one man rich
 hoichchō, jithī-kē wah hgpī jālurā Aur uthī-nē ūthī-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went And him-by him own
 nūtō-mē taundā dimānē-kō khutāi deppā Aur wah lugtā
fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given And he dying
 hoichchā kī uthī chhukhō-thē jō taundā dimmatā hoichchā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khētai pharī leppē, kī kōi uthē deppatā khatī hoichchā
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was
 Jabi khos-mē ālurā, kaugā, 'khimērē chhūārā-kē khitnē kōdmī
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 tīwahi hoichchati hrai, māi chhūkai lugtā hū Māi khuth-kē khapnē
bread becoming is, I by-hunger dying am I having-arisen own
 chhūārā pīs hlpūgā aur uthī-thē kaugūgā kī, "ēvō chhūārā, māi-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagis-kī aur tārā jhurā kūllā, abī uthī nāik khatī rahyō hoichchū
lacen of and of-thee sin was-done, now this fit not remained am

kī tērā batrā kaugī deppī jālurō Khujhē khapnē
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go Me own
 kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-kī nāfik khanāi leppō''' Tabī khuth-kē khapnē
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take''' Then having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās lūpā Aur wah abī dūi hoichehā kī uthī-kō naukhtē
father near went And he yet far was that him seeing
 khī uthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur hīp-kē uthī-kō nātti-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to
 hūpāi leppā aur uthī kō khitnē khitā leppī leppā
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken
 Batrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā kī, 'ēyō chhūarā, māi-nē khagās-kā aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, me-by heaven-of and
 tērā jhurā kūllā, aur khatī kī phir tērā batrā kōi kaugē'
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call'
 Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmīyō-thī kaugī deppā kī, 'chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, 'good good
 tūpkē leppī ālurō, aur uthī deppī deppō, aur uthī-kī
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give, and him-of
 khangurī-mē khangūthī aur uthī-kō pāw-mē rēwriyā khamāi deppō, aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give, and
 hamī dīmīč aur nusi khamāē kī yah mērā batrā lūgī jālurā
we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone
 hoichehē, thō chindā ālurā, hurā bī khatī hoichehē jānē kiyā
was, he alive came, anywhere even not is to-know where
 gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichehē' Tabī nusi kūllnē raugā
having-gone stayed, now come is' Then merry to-make began

Aur uthī-kā jharā batrā nētō-mē hoichehā Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was When house-of-near came
 aur khunch-kī khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā kī, 'yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man to it-was-said that, 'this
 kyā hoichehā hai?' Aur uthī-nē bithē kaugā kī, 'tērā jhaiyā
what become is?' And him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother
 ālurā hoichehē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dīmīnā-kō kūllā hai kī
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as
 bithē chindā ālurā naukhā' Uthī-nē kitthā hoichehī gaugā kī
him well come was-seen' Him-by angry having-become went that
 bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house of inside not will-go Then him-of father-by there-from
 ālur-kē uthī namjāyā Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō mē kauga,
having-come him it-was-entreated Him by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

'naukh, itnē baras-thē maĩ tērī nidmat kūltā hoichchũ, aur khad ī
 'see, so-many years-from I thy service doing am, and ever
 tērē kaugnē-thī khattī khatī kūllā, kī tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā
 thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-goat-of
 chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, kī khapnē khuyāwrō-kē sangī nusi
 young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry
 kūllnō Aur jab tērā yah batrā ālurō jithī-nē tērā khimālā
 to-make And when thy this son came whom-by thy property
 rajētayō-mē khurāi deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē mātthē jharī
 women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very
 chindā dimmnē-kō kūllā ' Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, 'ēyō batrē, tū
 good feasting-for was-made ' Him-by to-him it-was-said, 'O son, thou
 sadā mērai pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā
 always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thine
 hoichchē Kī nusi hōnā nājim hoichchē kī tērā yah jhaiyā lugā
 is But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead
 hoichchā, thē chindā ālurā, aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī
 was, he well came, and anywhere even not was, he now
 ālurā hoichchē '
 come is '

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khūs-lō bāiō mētābē* (i.e. *bētā*), his younger son, *māpbar*, i.e. *bāpar*, by the father, *mājū ā-lō*, to the servants, *bhayō chhā*, had become, *īauchhũ*, I remain, *mahō* and *mahā*, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words, thus, *mānēgā*=*gānē*, singing, *mūtājū*=*jūtā*, shoe, and so forth.

[No. 39.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ)

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI

Khēk	makassē	dōs	mētēbē	thē	Un-mā-sē	mōtāchhē-nē		
One	man-to	two	sons	were	Them-in-from	younger-by		
mahā,	‘ māpbē,	khumāl-kā	khissā	khumērā	mujhē	dē ’	Tab	
it-was-said,	‘ father,	proper ty-of	share	mine	to me	give ’	Then	
us-nē	khumāl	unhē	māti	diyā	Thōrai	din-kē	māt	
him-by	proper ty	to-them	dividing	was-given	Few	days-of	after	
mōtōchhē	mētēbē	sab-kō	mahāj	kar-kē	khēk	dūr-hi	chhulak-kō	
younger	son	all	together	having-done	one	distant	country-to	
mupērsē	kiyā	Wahā	apnā	māl	ladchālī	’	khurpāyā	
journey	was-made	There	own	property	in-bad-conduct		was-squandered	
Jab	sab	mir-chukā-kir	chukā	us	chhulak-mē	baīā	khakāl	paṛā
When	all	had been-wasted-away		that	country-in	big	famine	fell
Khus	chhulak-mē	khēk	khirais-kē	yahā	kbajā		lagā	
That	country-in	one	squire-of	place	having-gone		was-employed	
Khus-nē	khusē	khapnē	mētkhē	muarsē	charāban	gōchū		Wah
Him-by	him	own	in-fields	swine	to-feed	it-was-sent		He
māhtā	thā	khī	khun	mirkāchhē	jō	muarsē	matēkhē,	apnā
wishing	was	that	those	kushs	which	swine	eat,	own
mantayai	bharē,	khī	kōi	khusē	na	dētā	thā	Jab
belly	may-fill,	that	anyone	him	not	giving	was	When
hōsh-mē	bhayō-chhā,		mahā	ki,	‘ merē	māpbē-kē	mājūrā-kō	
sense-in	become-had,	it-was-said		that,	‘ my	father-of	servants-to	
bahut	kharōṭi	haī	Khimaī	bhūkhō	martā	hū	Khimaī	
much	bread	are	I	with-hunger	dying	am		I
khuth-kē	apnē	māpbē-kē	pās	jāūgā	aur	khusē	kahūgā,	“ aī
having-arisen	own	father-of	near	will-go	and	to-him	will-say,	“ O
māpbē,	khāsmān-kā	khaur	mērātē	munāgai	kiyā ,	ab	is	
father,	heaven-of	and	of-thee	sin	was-done ,	now	this	
lāik	naithū	rōchhū	khī	tērā	mētābē	kahlāyū ,	mujhē	apnē
fit	not	am	that	thy	son	may be-called ,	me	own
mājūrā-mē	khēk-sā	banā ” ’		Tabkhī	khuth-kē	apnē	māpbē-kē	
servants-in	one like	make ” ’		Then	having-arisen	own	father-of	

pās <i>near</i>	gayō- <i>chhū</i> <i>went</i>	Wah <i>He</i>	abbī <i>yet</i>	khudūr <i>fa</i>	hatō, <i>was,</i>	khuse <i>him</i>	lakh-kē <i>having-seen</i>
khush-kē <i>him-of</i>	māpbē <i>to-father</i>	khurahm <i>pity</i>	bhayō, <i>became,</i>	khidaur-kē <i>having-in</i>	usai <i>him</i>	malēgē <i>to-neck</i>	
khilagāi <i>having-clasped</i>	lavō <i>was-taken</i>	aur <i>and</i>	bahut <i>much</i>	khimōmāchē <i>kissed</i>	Mētēbē-nē <i>Son-by</i>	khush <i>to-him</i>	
kōkā, <i>it-was-said,</i>	'ai <i>'O</i>	māpbē, <i>father,</i>	mē-nē <i>me-by</i>	agās-kā <i>heaven-of</i>	aur <i>and</i>	khutērē-kā <i>thee-of</i>	munāgai <i>sin</i>
kivā, <i>was-done,</i>	is <i>this</i>	kābil <i>worth</i>	naithū <i>not</i>	rauchhū <i>am</i>	kī <i>that</i>	tērā <i>thy</i>	mētābē <i>son</i>
kahlāvū <i>I-may-be-called</i>		Māpbai <i>By-the-father</i>	apnē <i>own</i>	nōkarō-kō <i>servants-to</i>	mahā <i>it-was-said</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	
'achchhi <i>'good</i>	achchhi <i>good</i>	mōsākayē <i>dresses</i>	khinikās <i>having-taken-out</i>	lāō, <i>bring,</i>	usē <i>him</i>	mabdhāē <i>putting-on</i>	
dō, <i>give,</i>	khush-kē <i>him-of</i>	khāth-mē <i>hand-on</i>	khangūthi <i>ring</i>	aur <i>and</i>	mābvē-mē <i>foot-on</i>	mūtājū <i>shoes</i>	mabdhāē <i>putting-on</i>
dō, <i>give,</i>	aur <i>and</i>	ham <i>we</i>	musikhē <i>merry</i>	manāē, <i>may-make,</i>	mō-kī <i>because</i>	mērō <i>my</i>	mētābē <i>son</i>
islūk <i>dead</i>							
gavō <i>gone</i>	hatō, <i>was,</i>	ab <i>now</i>	muji <i>alive</i>	gayō, <i>went,</i>	mōkhāē <i>lost</i>	gavō, <i>went,</i>	ab <i>now</i>
milē <i>found</i>							
gavō <i>went</i>							
Tab <i>Then</i>	wē <i>they</i>	musikhē <i>merry</i>	karnē <i>to-make</i>	lagē <i>began</i>			
Khus-kō <i>Him-of</i>	barō <i>big</i>	mētābē <i>son</i>	mētakhē-mē <i>field-in</i>	hatō <i>was</i>	Jab <i>When</i>	marghē-kē <i>house-of</i>	
nazdik <i>near</i>	āyō <i>came</i>	mānēgā <i>singing-of</i>	aur <i>and</i>	ginchō-bartō-kī <i>dancing-of</i>	awāz <i>sound</i>	sulpī <i>was-heard..</i>	
Tab <i>Then</i>	khēk <i>one</i>	khinōkar <i>servant</i>	bulākē <i>having-called</i>	puchhwārō <i>it-was-asked</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	'yah <i>'this</i>	kai <i>what</i>
hai <i>is ?</i>	Khus-nē <i>Him-by</i>	khuse <i>to-him</i>	mahō <i>it-was-said</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	'tērā <i>'thy</i>	mabhai <i>brother</i>	āyō, <i>came ;</i>
hus-kī <i>him-of</i>	tērā <i>thy</i>	māpbē-nē <i>father-by</i>	barī <i>big</i>	māfat <i>feast</i>	kari, <i>was-made,</i>	is <i>this</i>	hyē <i>for</i>
that <i>that</i>							
bhalō <i>good</i>	mangōchi <i>sound</i>	pāyō <i>was-got</i>	Mussā <i>Anger</i>	kī, <i>was-made,</i>	na <i>not</i>	chāhā <i>wished</i>	khandar <i>inside</i>
kī <i>that</i>	jāē <i>may-go</i>	Tab <i>Then</i>	khush-kē <i>him-of</i>	māpbē-nē <i>father-by</i>	khumanpāyā <i>was-in</i>	emonstrated <i>that</i>	Khush-nē <i>Him-by</i>
bāp-nē <i>father-to</i>	jawāb <i>answer</i>	mēlō <i>was-given</i>	kī, <i>that,</i>	'lakh, <i>'see,</i>	itnē <i>so-many</i>	marasbē <i>years</i>	tērī <i>thy</i>
mujbat <i>service</i>	karpatō, <i>doing-was,</i>	khabhū <i>ever</i>	tērē <i>thy</i>	khush-kē <i>order-of</i>	mubarkhilāf <i>against</i>	na <i>not</i>	chalē <i>went..</i>

Tū-nē	labhī	khaik	maḥarbī-kā	bachchā	na	diyā	kī		
<i>Thee-by</i>	<i>ever</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>goat-of</i>	<i>young-one</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>that</i>		
apnē	mōstdē-kē	māsthē	musīkhē	manāvũ	Jab	yah	mētābē		
<i>own</i>	<i>friends-of</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>merry</i>	<i>might-make</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>son</i>		
tērā	āyō	jā-nē	tērā	māl	mēshyāē-mē	urāyō,	tū-nē		
<i>thy</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>whom-by</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>harlots-among</i>	<i>was-wasted,</i>	<i>thee-by</i>		
khus-kē	hyē	barī	māftaj	karpī	Khus-nē	khus-sē			
<i>him-of</i>	<i>sake-for</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>feast</i>	<i>was-made</i>	<i>Him-by</i>	<i>him-to</i>			
lōpī,	‘ai	mētēbē,	tū	sadā	mērē	māsyai	hai,	aur	
<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>son,</i>	<i>thou</i>	<i>always</i>	<i>of-me</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>art,</i>	<i>and</i>	
jō-kuchh	mērā	hai	sō	khītērā	hai	Khimusīkhē	manānā		
<i>whatever</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>thine</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>Merry</i>	<i>to-make</i>		
khususkhē	hōnā	marūrjē	thā,	myũ-kī	tērā	yah	mabhāi	marluk	
<i>happy</i>	<i>to-be</i>	<i>necessary</i>	<i>was,</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>dead</i>	
gayō,	sō	mijiyāō,	aur	mukhāē	gayō	thō,	sō	ab	milyō
<i>went,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>revived,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>lost</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>was,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>found</i>
hai									
is									

A third specimen from the Mampur District, which has been forwarded under the head of Natī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Nat about a theft.

[No. 40]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI

Mōrich bhāī, us-mē khark mutiwā gaō chhō Khark mariwa
Theft was, that-in one kettle lost was One jug
 grī chhē Dō gamārī thē gaē Phir mānūthē-mē gayē
lost was Two plates were gone Then police-station-in went
 Mē-nē rapat karpī jāī mānathdār āyē lkh
Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing
 lkhāē-kē, phir marōgādī khapnē mānīthē-kō chālē
having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
 gayō Kachhik nāyī mil-iyō Marōgādī-kai māsthō chīr sipīh
went Anything not being-found-came Inspector-of with from soldiers
 tin maukīhdār āyē thē Mandrah wā sōlāh khadmī marōgādī-nō
there watchmen come were Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by
 khakkatthē karpō tāmānī-kī talāshī layī kī, 'is nat-kī
collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this nat-of
 mōrich hō gāī yā nāhī ' Khark khadmī-nē un-mē-sē
theft having-become went or not ' One man-by them-in-from
 mahā kī, 'mē-ic mōrich kaitē mēkhādē thē
it-was-said that, 'me-by theft doing seen were
 Makasbāy-sē mīwāldē-māī khandī phāī dayō,
Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,
 us wakat gamī karpāt thē, sō bāhī bachchē jag parpī
that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up
 Tab gam bhāj gayē ' Mānathdār-nē mē-rā khinsāf nāhī
Then thieves running-away went ' Police-officer-by of-me justice not
 kiyā Tabkhī mē-nē khidptī sāhab-kē yāhī khargī dāī
was-done Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given
 Tab khidptī sāhab-nē magwāh bulvāē aur khun-kā izhār
Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them of statement
 paugā, 'sach lōpat kī mōrich bhāī kī nāhī bhāī ' Khimāī
was-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was ' I
 bilkulkhī lut gayō Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,
wholly robbed went Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
 tō māī mar jāūgā
then I dying shall-go

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

The slang of the Nats of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpur. Thus we find *bōhī ā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōhī ā*, sons, as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration of this mixed speech.

c

[No 41]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BĒRIYĀ)

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH

Kēhū	tēhā-kē	khadōē	bōhrā	thē	Uhi-mā-sē	lahurā-nē			
<i>Some</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>Them-in-from</i>	<i>younger-by</i>			
khabāptā-sē	kahā,	‘ arē	khabāptā,	pūjī-māhi-sē	jō	hamārā			
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>‘ O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>property-in-from</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>my</i>			
nāttīlī	hōē	uh	ham-kā	bātē	Tab	uh-nē	uh-kō	apnī	māyā
<i>share</i>	<i>may-be</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>me-to</i>	<i>divide</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>him-by</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>wealth</i>
nāttīlī	kar	dī	Bōhit	din	nāhī	katē	kī	lahurā	
<i>shares</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	<i>Many</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>passed</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>younger</i>	
bōhrā	sārī	pūjī	ikthī	kar	anthā			chhāē	
<i>son</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>another-country</i>			<i>having-gone</i>	
rahyō									
<i>stayed</i>									

The Nat argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahārī Bhābar. The admixture of Rājasthānī forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix *rā*, *rī*, *ī*, the locative suffix *nē*, forms such as *mānā*, *māhrā*, *my*, *nō*, *ī* *thō*, or *thā*, *I was*, forms such as *īahā*, *īahlā*, and *rehlā*, *was*, *dīnī*, *gave*, *kīnī*, *made*, and the future suffixes *gā* and *rā*. Note also the aspirated letters in *gōghā*, *went*, *dudhtē*, *eating*, *dhōr*, *two*, *thēr*, *three*, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff.

[No. 42]

GIPIY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR)

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR

Bīk One	kudmī-kē man-of	dhōr two	nīklē sons	rahlē icere	Khalōhrā-nē Younger-by	bāpsā-sē father-to
kūkā it-was-said	ke, that,	'bīpsā, 'father,	khātum-kā property-of	jatūp share	mōhē me-to	dīp-dēō 'give'
bāppā-nē father by	dīp-dīvā was given	Nihōrgī Feio	khadin days	nīchhē after	khalōhrā younger	nīklē-nē son-by
bīkhtī together	kōrlā was-made	bōr and	khadūr-kē distance-of	nīdhwī-kū country-to	gōghā went	bōr and
bīn ilī-nō riotousness-in	rahrahē spent	hupī becoming	gokī went	Phin Then	ōh that	nīdhwī-kē country-of
khamīr-kē rich-man-of	rōhlē house	gōghā went	Ōh-nō Iim-by	rahtō-nō fields-in	tundā pigs	nukānē to-graze
Bōr And	ōhē his	khāpīā desire	ke that	kobō-sē husks-from	jō which	tundā pigs
hāī are	īpān own	khānēt belly	Phin Then	kukā it-was-said	that, 'my	'mōhrē father-of
chlīntē servants	hāī, are,	ulrī to them	tīōh breads	hāī, are,	bōr and	luktā dying
Mēh I	āpān own	bāpsā-kē father-of	dhugē near	chlupūngā will-go	bōr and	ōh-sē him-to
"bīpsā, 'father,	mēh ne me by	ākās heaven	bor and	tōhrē of-thee	thāmne before	rasōr sin
ab now	mōhē me	āpnē own	chlīntē servant	sāhī like	karbō 'make'	Ōh He
dhugā near	chlupā went	Bōr And	ōh he	khadūr far	rahlā was	ke that
ōh-nē his	bāpsā-kū father-to	mōh affection	āyā, came,	bōr and	khatēng-kē having-run	ōhē him
lagē-hyā was clasped	bōr and	chlōd much	rīlchhā caressing	kīlī was-made	Bōr And	ōhē his
chlīntē-sē servants to	kūkā it-was-said	ke, that,	'kuchhē 'good	kuchhē good	rīpṛē clothes	lēp-āō bring
						richhā neck
						bāpsā father
						āpān own
						bōr and

ōhī nīhr-lāō, bōr ōh-kē khūt-nē ūthī bōr gōnā-nē gōhnī nēhr-lāō;
him put-on, and him-of hand-on ring and feet-on shoes put-on,
 bōr ham dutē bōr rusī rōhōpō, ke māhrā nīklā
and we may-eat and merry may-be, that my son
 lugā rahā, phun khājiri gōghā hai, khajātā rahlā, phin khamlā
dead was, again alive gone is, lost was, again found
 hai ' Bōr ōh rusī rōhpō lāgē
is ' And they merry to-be began

Bōr ōh-kā jarā nīklā rahat-nē rahā Jab rōhlē-kē dhigē
And him-of big son field-in was When house-of near
 āyā bōr khēchnē-kī chur nōhnī Bik ohhīntē-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard One servant-to
 kūkī ke, ' ē hūp hai ? ' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kūkā, ' tōhrā
it-was said that, ' this what is ? ' Him-by him-to it-was-said, ' thy
 bhrotī āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē jari dutnā keli ' Ōh-nē
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made ' Him-by
 rūś hupī gōghā khapivānā ke rōhlē na chulpē Ōh-kē
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go Him-of
 hīpsā-nē khabāhar chilap-kar khamnāyā Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated Him-by father-to
 kūkā, ' nūkh, chhōd khadīn hupī gač ke tōhrī khamēti
it-was-said, ' see, many days having-become went that thy service
 kōli rahā, bōr tōhrē kūknē-sē na chulpā Tōh-nē bik
doing remained, and thy word-from not went Thee-by one
 rubri-kī bachchā bhī mōhē na dīnī ke khyārō-kē hāth
goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
 rusī rahpō Bōr jō tōhrā ōh nīklā āyā jō tōhrā
merry might-be And when thy this son came by-whom thy
 khatum patniyō-nē raharch hupī gōkī tōh-nē ōh-kē liē
property hailots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake
 chhōd dūtnī kinī ' Ōh-nē kūkā ke, ' nīklē, tū sadā
big feast was-made ' Him-by it-was-said that, ' son, thou always
 mōhrī dhigē hai, bōr jō mōhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai
at-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is
 Phun rusī rōhōpnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā
but merry to make and merry to-be was, that thy
 bhrotī logī rahlā, phun khajimān hai, bōr khajātā rahlā,
brother dead was, again alive is, and lost was,
 khamlā hai '
found is '

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR)

SPECIMEN VI

STATE RAMPUR

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khadīn bhaē ki kōdhi nāl-kū māhrē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
 rōhlē būlaṭ bhaī Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj
in-house dacoty was I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
 rahā thā Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahī thī Bik
staying was My sister house-in sleeping staying was One
 ludmī māhrē rāhat-kī dhugē chhlagtā huā nukhā Khōtithōgā,
man my bed-of near going become was-seen I-rose,
 ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'būki hū' Mēh
him-from it-was asked, then it-was-said that, 'chaukidār am' By-me
 kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai' Phin ōh chhlap-gayā
it-was-said that, 'he another man is' Then he going-went
 Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huā rēhlā Phin nachīs khatīs bōl
While clothes put-on become was Then twenty-five thirty burglars
 āē bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bultu haī' Khandērī nāl rēhli
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are' Dark night was
 Namañchā bōr tikhnī leuthiā nandūkē sab khatiyār ōh-kē dhugē rahlē
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were
 Kōt chul nandūkō-kē bhaē Mēh gōghāi parā Bik nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became I going fled One knife
 thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuthiā lugārī Mēh nisht hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck I quiet becoming went that
 lōth dārēgē Phin bik kudmī tikhnī lyē mēhrē dhugē reharā
killing may-throw Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
 rahā, bōr narwajjē-kā rund nōinē lagē Nidhwē-kē dāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to break began Village-of people many
 bikhattē hupī gaē Tō mēhrē dhugē-sē bōl chilpē gaē
together becoming went Then of-me near-from burglars going went
 Phin mēh khinṭī-kē chilpā gayā, bōr nidhwē-nē bullātā phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
 ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, righ chilpō' Nēhblūanē
that, 'my house-in dacots have-entered, quickly come' All-sides-from

bōl	nandūkē	lōhtē	thē	Khādrā-kē	mārē	uthē	kōi	na
dacoits	guns	firing	were	Fear-of	on-account	there	anybody	not
jāsurtā	thā	Dhōr	ranthā	tāi	bulattē	rahē	Phun	chulpē
going	was	Two	hours	for	robbing	were	Then	moved
Bus-kē	nīcohē	mēh	rōhlē	gōghā,	nukhā	ke	khatālā	nutā
That-of	after	I	into-house	went,	it-was-seen	that	lock	broken
huā	hai,	khamāti	rōdhilā-rī,	dāmāyā-kī	khatum		khutāi	
become	is,	earth	dug-was,	women-of	property	having-taken-out		
li,	bōr	gahnā	sab	lipī	gaē		Bikis	
was-taken,	and	ornaments	all	having-taken	had-gone		Twenty-one	
hajārē-kā	khatum	bultī-kē		lipī	gaē		Kāgad	
thousand-of	property	having-robbed		having-taken	had-done		Paper	
dippī	diyā	hai	Rīchhrā	bōr	nēthrē		jalāē-kē	
having-given	given	is	Quilts	and	stalks-of-juar-tree		having-lighted	
bōlō-nē	khujitā	kī	thī	Mēhrā	jadhī-sē	kāi	kharāñj	nahī
dacoits-by	light	made	was	Of-me	defendant-with	any	ill-feeling	not
hai,	na	un-kē	bhaotē-sē	Mēh-nē	kīsī	bōl-kū	nahī	nehchānā
is,	not	him-of	brother-with	Me-by	any	dacoit	not	was-recognized
Mēh	in	bolō-kū	ke	kachēriyā-nē	rahē	hai	nahī	nahchāntā
I	these	dacoits	who	count-in	standing	are	not	know
Bōr	jō	khatum	khiklē	hōkē	āyā	hai,	mēhugā	nahī
And	which	property	recovered	having-become	come	is,	nune	not
hai	Bēk	rahri	tak	mēhrē	thāmnē	mēhrā	rōhlā	bulattē
is	One	hour	for	of-me	before	my	house	robbing
							remained	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property I have given a list of it The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother I did not recognize any one of the dacoits I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court The property which has been recovered is not mine They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour

The Nats in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent We may note forms such as *lhabdā* and *lhabdē*, O big one, Sn , *lhabhedā-lē*, of the wolf (but *lhabhēdē-nē*, by the wolf), *āsīā*, they came, and so on Note also future forms such as *jāgīā*, I will go, *kōgungā*, I will say, compare Śāśī Another future formation is represented by *hōēlā*, it will be For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable, the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb

[No 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN VII

DISTRICT BIJNOR

Kisī	kōdmī-kē	dō	nōbdē	thē	Chhōtē	nōbdē-nē	bābā-sū
<i>Some</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>son-by</i>	<i>father-to</i>
kahī	kī,	‘hamārā	bātī	bātī	dē’	Us-nē	apnē
<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘our</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>having-divided</i>	<i>give’</i>	<i>him-by</i>	<i>own</i>
jūdē-jī	lātā	divā	Ghanē	duñā	nahī	huč,	chhōtā
<i>living-of</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>Many</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>there,</i>	<i>small</i>
sab	khūbnā	lē	dūsrē	dēsā	nasī	gayā,	aur
<i>all</i>	<i>goods</i>	<i>having-taken</i>	<i>another</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>and</i>
sahā	khūbnā	khurmastī	lagādne-mē	barābād	kar	divā	Aur
<i>all</i>	<i>goods</i>	<i>riotousness,</i>	<i>applying-in</i>	<i>wasted</i>	<i>making</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>And</i>
sab	nāngā	kar	chukā,	sō	ūthē	mulkā-mē	ghaṇā
<i>all</i>	<i>spent</i>	<i>making</i>	<i>ceased,</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>mighty</i>
hō	gayā	Jab	lāchār	khōkhā	hōnē	lagā,	tab
<i>having-become</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>helpless</i>	<i>poor</i>	<i>to-be</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>then</i>
dēsā-kē	kisī	kōdmī-sō	jā	bhētā	Tab	us-nē	usō
<i>country-of</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>man-with</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>was-joined</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>him-by</i>	<i>him</i>
chugānē	bhējī	divā	Tab	hōshā-mē	ākē	kōghā,	
<i>to-graze</i>	<i>having-sent</i>	<i>it-was-given</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>senses in</i>	<i>having-come</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	
‘mērē	bāpā-kē	utnē	mihantī-kō	babutā	ōtī	haī,	maī
<i>‘my</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>so-many</i>	<i>servants-to</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>are,</i>	<i>I</i>
mar	chalpā	Maī	ūthī-kē	bāpā-kē	pās	jāgrā	aur
<i>dying</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>having-isen</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go</i>	<i>and</i>
kōgunā	kī,	“bāpā,	hamī-nē	āsmānē-kā	tērē	hazūr	taksīrā
<i>will-say</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>“father,</i>	<i>me-by</i>	<i>heaven-of</i>	<i>of-thee</i>	<i>presence</i>	<i>fault</i>
karā	hai”	‘					
<i>done</i>	<i>is”</i>	<i>‘</i>					

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BILNOR

Ek khunaddi badi napā^h thi Uh-kē dhāngā-pā ēk-hī khabaktā^h
One rarer very clear was That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēdī ō khabhēdī-kā khabachchā dōnō khapānī pinē āsrā
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came
 Garmī^h khabhutī^h tuī rōgi Khadōnō-kō khapyās lagī
Heat much having-fallen was Both-to thirst having become attached
 rōgi thi Khabhēdī^h uthē khadā khapānī tōgi rahā thā,
being was Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 uthē-s thōdī dūrī-par khabāō-kī tarfā khabhēdā-kā khabachchā
therefrom little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep of young-one
 khapānī tōgi lagī khabhēdā-kē khumī khuluhū lagā huā
water drinking began Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become
 thā, uh-kē khēdārtē-hi khumī-mē khachchī tabuk āyā, us-kē
was, him-of on seeing-even mouth-in water filled came, him-of
 dūtē-kē hīc kharhagrā khubī kiyā ' Ō bē adbhā,
eating of for-the-sale quarrel much was made ' O disrespectful-one,
 tujhē chī kulnā chāhīc hī pāō-sē hūlāi hūlāi khapānī-kō gādā
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirty
 kulta hai, jī-kī wajah-sē ham pānī na tōg-sāī, khapyās-kē
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārē marī chalpāī^h Khubichārē khubachchē-nē jawābā^h
on-the-account dying may-go ' Poor young-one-by answer
 diyā, ' khabdē, kyā hukmī^h khadrtē ho^h Khapānī-kā khabāō
was-given, ' Sir, what order giving are ? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mōrī tarfā hai Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is My direction-from
 tūri labī-kō nahī jāc saktā^h Tab khabhēdī-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can ' Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 ' nuhī-sahī, tū badō khumgrā hai, khachchē mōs huē tan-nē
' never-mind, thou great scoundrel art, six months become thee-by
 mujh-ko barā gārī^h dipī thī^h Khubachchē-nē kaugā, ' khabdā,
me-to great abuses given were ' Young-one-by it-was said, ' Sir,

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Maĩ tō abhī khachh mahinē-kā
what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of
 hōpā nahī Gārīā kīs-nē dēpī hōgī-? Khabhēdē-nē kaugā,
become not Abuses whom-by given may-be ? Wolf-by it-was-said,
 'īthā tum-nē mah-kō gārīā na dēpī hōgī, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē
' here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by
 dēpī hōgī Ab misāpā yah hōēlā kī apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā
given may-be Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of
 dādā bhugtī lō ' Yah kaugī-kē khubachhē-kō chakar
punishment reaping may-take ' This having-said young-one-of seizing
 livā aur tūk-tūk kar-kē tūmī livā
was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, 'O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?' The poor lamb replied 'Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and can not flow from me to you.' Then the wolf said 'never mind, you are a scoundrel, six months ago you abused me.' Said the lamb, 'how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?' The wolf said 'if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.' After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Nats of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsi and state that they have come from Brāj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsis differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.

[No. 46]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BRIJBĀSĪ)

SPECIMEN IX

DISTRICT BAHRAICH

Ek	admī-rē	dui	chhōrā	chhē	U-mhā-lē	nānhukē	chhōrā	
One	man-qf	tico	sons	iceic	Them-in-from	by small	son	
hū-nē	kahuō,	'uhō	hū,	dhan	jaun	hamārō	hīsā	chhē
father-to	it-was-said,	' O	father,	property	which	my	share	is
ham-no	dai-dō'	Tabu	ū	dhan	ū-thaī	bāt	dīnhō	
me to	give'	Then	he	property	him-to	having-divided	was-given	
Ujī	thōr	doūs	hītē	nānhukē	chhōrā	jamā-jathri	lē-kō	
And	few	days	after	small	son	property	having-taken	
	pardēsan	chalō	garō,	' ujī	uttē	āprō	māl-jāl	sail-sūphī-mē
to-a-foreign country	it moved	went,	and	there	own	property	debauchery-in	
	uri-dīnō							
was-wasted								

The argot of the Naṭs of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindi and Hindōstīnī with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.¹

¹ It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihārī a form of speech quite different from Hindi.—

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ

SPECIMEN X.

•

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē	kudmī-kē	dhūr	rawāil	rahē	Rōtkā	rawāil	apnē			
One	man-of	two	sons	were	Small	son	own			
dugwā-sē	kutāis	jē,	‘sab	tihā	masil	mērā	jhakhrī			
father to	said	that,	‘all	wealth	money	my	share			
batkhilālapā’	Dugwā	sab	tihā	masil	dhūiō	rawāil-kē	jhāt			
divide’	Father	all	wealth	money	two	sons-of	shares			
dihis	Thōrācha	jhād	rōtkā	rawāil	apnā	sab	masil	gang		
gave	Short	after	small	son	own	all	money	piece		
lē-kē	jhārī	dūr	ralī	gapāil	Wahā	sab	masil	gang	rahūli-mē	
having-taken	very	far	going	went	There	all	money	piece	harlots-in	
dhārāb-kar	dihis	Jab	us-kā	labthō	marchā	hō	geā,	tab		
spent-making	gave	When	him-of	all	spent	becoming	went,	then		
us	dēs-mē	jhārī	jhakāl	parpāil,	ō	ū	bayitē-mē	dhārīb	hō	
that	country-in	great	famine	fell,	and	he	food-in	poor	becoming	
gāil	Tab	wah	jhēkē	kājā	rangh	rahēkē	gāil	Kājā		
went	Then	he	one	gentleman	with	to-remain	went	Gentleman		
us-kō	apnē	nēthā-mē	rūkar	charānē-kō	bhējis	Naslāō	rūkar-kē	bītnī		
him	own	field-in	some	feeding-for	sent	Unks	pigs-of	food		
bhī	milpāt,	tō	ū	apan	chutkālī	chīdhā	bhāi-kē			
even	would-have-got,	then	he	own	belly	glad	having-become			
laurit	Jab	wah	apnē	kīhā	dharpā,	apnē	man-mē	chīhōkē		
would-have-filled	When	he	own	sense	held,	own	mud-in	to-say		
lagī	jē,	‘hamarē	dugwā-kē	kītnē	khēotahā-kē	etnā	dōmkā	hai		
began	that,	‘my	father-of	how-many	servants of	so-much	bread	is		
ke	wah	apnē	bayitē	hāī	ō	dūsar-kē	bayitātē	hāī,	ō	ham
that	they	sell	eating	are	and	others-of	feeding	are,	and	I
bhūkān	dhimī	jālā	Ham	apnē	dugwā	rangh	jāisī	ō	kutāisī	
by hunger	eating	go	I	own	father	near	will-go	and	will say	
jē,	“ō	dugwā,	ham	tērā	khahut	bējāc	kīyā,	ō	ham	tērā
that,	“O	father,	by-me	of-thee	many	faults	were-done,	and	I	thy
rahūli	chīhōkē	jōkar	naipī	hapāil,	apnē	nāhar-mē	khēotā	rakhpā	”’	
‘on	to be-called	fit	not	became,	own	presence-in	servant	keep	”’	

DÖM

The Döms are a menial caste belonging to what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Dravidian type. It is not uniform but comprises several variations and sub-castes. Some Döms supply fire at cremation or act as executioners, others are scavengers, and some have taken to basket and cane working. The Döms in the Himalayan districts have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans, while the wandering Magahyā Döms of Bihar are professional thieves.

The Döms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir. The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911 —

Assam	30,412
Bengal	173,001
Bihar and Orissa	241,003
Central Provinces and Berar	9,344
Punjab	79,916
United Provinces	333,781
Kashmir State	52,099
Delaware	4,374
TOTAL	925,820

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphor and Bisor —

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,095
Banoda State	9
Central India Agency	52,405
TOTAL	128,516

Giving a grand total for Döms under all names of 1,054,336

The common name of the caste is Döm or Dömṛā, a word of uncertain origin. According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* a *Dama* is the son of a *lêta* and a *chāṇḍālī*, and *Dama* is perhaps the same word as *Dōma*. The *domas* or *dōmbas* are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form *dōmba* seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's *Brhat-samhitā* (lxvii 33), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sūmadatta and the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana. There cannot be any doubt that these *dōmbas* are identical with the Döms, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopœic, compare Sanskrit *dam*, to sound, *damaru*, drum. It is probably not Arvan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *dom* might be identical with the name *rôm*, which the European Gypsies use

to denote themselves.¹ This suggestion has been adopted by Charles G. Leland² and Sir George Grierson,³ and it may now be considered as established, after we have learnt to know that the Nawar or Zutt, a Gipsy tribe of Palestine, call themselves *Dôm* and their language *Dômānī*.⁴

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So far as can be judged from the materials available the Dôms do not possess a dialect of their own but use the speech of their neighbours. The words and phrases given by Abdul Ghafur belong to an argot of the same kind as that used by the Sîsis. A similar remark applies to the Dôm dialect mentioned by Dr Leitner. Neither his materials nor the sentences published by Abdul Ghafur are, however, sufficient for judging with certainty. According to information collected for the purposes of this Survey a dialect called Dômrâ was spoken in the following districts of Bihar and Orissa—

Saran	9,500
Champaran	7,662
TOTAL	17,162

These figures refer to the argot of the Magahuvî Dôms, who derive their name Magahuvî from Magah, Magadha, where they assert that their original home was, or from *māg*, road. They are notorious thieves and bad characters and do not cultivate or labour if they can help it. Their women only make occasional basket work as a pretence, their part being that of the spy, informer and disposer of stolen property.

The estimates of the number of speakers of Dômrâ in Saran are certainly exaggerated. At the Census of 1911 the Dôms of Saran numbered only 8,606, and only a portion of these used the Dômrâ argot. The Dôms of Champaran numbered 7,662, and the estimates for that district are perhaps correct.

As shown by the specimens which follow Dômrâ is an argot based on the current Bhôjpurî of the districts, with a tinge of Rājasthānī and Hindōstānī. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative *kō*, genitive *lā*, *kī*, *kē*;

¹ See A. F. Pott *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien* Vol. 1. Halle 1844, p. 42, Chr. Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde* Vol. 1. Second edition p. 460 note 1. Franz Mikluch *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderbewegungen der Zigeuner Europas* viii, p. 57 = *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Classe* Vol. xxvii. Vienna, 1810.

² *Academy* Vol. vii, 1875 p. 687.

³ *Iranian Antiquary* Vol. ix 1880 p. 15.

⁴ See R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Language of the Nawar or Zutt the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*. Gipsy Lore Society Monographs No. 3. Edinburgh 1914.

before, *chashkaē*=*pās*, towards, *bapl hailā*=*bāp*, father, *chētl hailā*, sense, *nētl hailā*=*khēt*, field, *garahlā*=*galā*, neck, *jutahlā* and *nōtahlā*=*jutā*, shoe, *sangahlā*, with, *sunahlā*, heard, *samanahlē*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *lhasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes, *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains, *dēghluarsē*=*divā*, gave, *tigunghai uarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone, thus, *lih-u-ātē*, I will say, *lar-u-lī*, I did, *lch-u-lē* and *lah-u-alal*, said, *lir-u-icē*, to make, *lih-u-ic-ēs*, *lih-u-as*, *lih-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by *in s*, thus, *di-su*, gave, *li-su*, took, *di-su-ātā*, gives, *lha-su-ātē*, coming, *lha-su-aitā*, comes (with *lh* added in front), *li-suic-ātē*, have done, *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-ācl*, and *lha-su-ān*, came, *chal-so-ācl*, went, *di-suic-ē*, had given, *di-suic-ēs*, gavest, *di-suic-as*, gave, *di-su-alan*, gave, *di-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uai*, thus, *char-uar-ē*, to grive, *lah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēlh-uai-lē*, having seen, *chal-uar* (*disu*), dividing (give), *rah-uar-ā*, remained, *ho-ic-ē*, it may be, *mar-uar-lhī*, I am dying, *lu-uai-tē*, I did, *di-suar-tahā*, gave, *chah-uar-tarhā*, he was wishing, *rah-uar-ticā*, *rah-uar-toācl*, stayed, *rah-uar-al*, was, *bach-uai-al*, was saved, *lag-uai-alē*, began, *tar-uar-lī*, I transgressed, *rah-uar-alhā*, was, *chuchh-uai-alah*, asked, *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth, compare Kanjari *icār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bai-u-ala*, is, *hō-icar-al*, am, art, is, *lhō-icar-lī*, we are, *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpuri.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dōm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *līā* in pronouns, thus, *lhōlrē*, by thee, *lhōlrē-mē-sē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *lhu* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *taṃ*, to go, thus, *hō-ticā*, became, *rah-uar-tawā*, stayed, *par-taicān*, fell, *gangai-toācl*, fled, the occasional addition of *iat* in *sunā-iat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiyā Dōms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dōmṛās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dōm story.

[No 48]

GIPSY LANGUAGES

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT SARAN-

Khāk kājw-i-kē du chēṭi bārurāl Khōkrī-mē sē chōchikā-nō
One man-of two sons were Them among from younger-by
 bapkhaili sē kihuesi, 'hē bapkhaili, darbkhaili jē hamrē chakrā
father to said, 'O father, goods which my share
 howrē, sē hamē disu ' Tab u khokrē khīpan darbkhaili
will be, that to-me give ' Then he to-him own goods
 chatur disu Bahut din nā chatur kē chōchikā chētā sab
disaid in gave Many days not passed that younger son all
 chuphaili khokhī kar kē chari chahrē chālāt wī, khaur khulhā
things together having made for country went, and there
 chadunāsi din chatur wī, khīpan darbkhaili khurā disuwas Jib
serv-to us days spent, own goods wasted gave When
 wāl sab kuchh bhuri disu wē, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl
he all w'aterer wasted had given, then that country-in big famine
 jāt, and he dhangāl hoṭwā, khaur khulhī tawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chahrē bhādm-mē khok ṭdmī rāhurāt wī, jēkrē khōkrē
that country men in one man to live-went, who him
 khapri mtkhaili bhubhur charurē bhūjār-disu wē Khaur khokrē
area fields some to graze sent And those
 mōthnō s jūth bhubhur tīgūn-gharurē khapnā chēt bharurē
lands with which some eating were own belly to fill
 chahurātāhī, bhaur kunnō nī us-ko kuchh disurātāhā Tab
reaching-was, and anybody not him to anything giving was Then
 bhokrē chēt hāhī hoṭwī, khaur khunē kaurātē, 'khamrē bapkhaili-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, 'my father-of
 chahut mājurī tīgūn- s chahut pōpī hōkhurātē khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 bhul hē hī mārurthī Māi khut-kē khapnō bapkhaili pās chālāt wā
with hunger dying am I having arisen own father near go
 khaur bhokrē kihurātē, 'hē bapkhailā, khām-nē chākunth khulhā khaur
and to him will-say, 'O father, me by Heaven against and
 khokrē samun-khaili chāpkhaili kirurātē, māi chhū uarke tōhār chētā
the before sin did, I again thy son

kīhuē lāek nai-khurē Khamrē-kē lhapnē majurā-mē-sē khēk
to-say worthy not-am He own servants-in-from one
 charābar kīru.” Tab wah khutkē khapnē bapkhailā chalatwā
like male” Then he having-arisen own father went
 Chahū pawrā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhwar-kē chayā kīruwasē, khaur
Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruar-kē us-kē garkhauā thīru-lisuwēs chumh haid Chētā-nē khōkrē-sē
run-having him-of neck lept-tool Iseed Son-by him-to
 kabā, ‘hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chait unth khutkē lhapnē
it-was-said, ‘O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhaihē chap-khailā kīruwatē, khaur ‘chhurnarkē tōhār chētā bahuarē
before sin did, and again thy son to-say
 lāek nai-khōrē.’ Chāli bapkhailā-nē lhapnē chōkar-sē līhuvēs, ‘sab-sē
worthy not-am’ But father-by own servants-to, said, ‘all-than
 khachhā tērar khikuar-kē chahrā-disuwēs, khōkrē kōhath anguthi lhapnē
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mē nutā pahināō, aur ham tīl uarkē lhapnē nusī biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-be-come,
 kīhuat-biruaral hamār chētā ruarē-barābar rahuārā, phir jiwariwā,
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went,
 chulatwā, phir chiluarwā’ Tab wē khānand kīruwar līguwār
lost-went, again met-went’ Then they merriment to-male began

Khōkar charkā chētā nētkhailā-mē biruaral Khaur chalā-khasuātē
His big son fields-in was And going-coming
 markhaihē khasuān, tab jakhaihē lhapnē nachard khawāj sunarat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard And
 kīhu khapnē chōkarkhaihē-mē-sē khēk-kō chashkhaē chōlāwat chuchhuartē kī,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 ‘kā hawārā?’ Khu khōkrē-sē kīhuas, ‘lhapnē bhaikhaihē asuānē,
‘what becoming-is?’ He him-to said, ‘yourself-of brother came,
 khaur tōhār bapkhailā niman ugūnār vrēsā khēkhōjkhailā-sē kī usē
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhā chauarēsā’ Chāli khōkrē nīsan biruaral khaur chitar nā tāwō
well got’ But he angry became and inside not came
 Khōkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chanānē lagē.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawabtu dēghluarsē kē, ‘dēkhwarē, māī bahut
He father-to answer gave that, ‘see, I many
 chas-sē khōkrē sēvkhailā kīruarē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhailā
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nī tamarh Khaur khokrē hamrē kahikhaiñ khēk nakrī na
ne' transgressed And thou to me ere one goal not
disuwēs kē khapnē chit sangkhaiñ khānand kiruat biruwal Chāki
get 'tla' uca friends with merriment making might-be But
Hāpan ī cheti jesa khapnē sab-khaiñ darikhaiñ tigon-tawān jaisō
ere this son who your own all-ichalere goods eating-went when
Hāpūn tvō hī khap nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruāsāi'
ere this deed yourself by for him good dinner have-made'
Bāpkhai khokrē se kihuwēs, 'hē cheti, tu sab din hamrē sangkhaiñ,
Ja'ke' Ja'ke' said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
Haur kichlu khaur hui, sē sab tōr hawwal Chāki khānand
ere a thing come is, that all time is But joy
Haur khaur nosi hotwā khachhā thā kāk-kī val tōr bhāikhaiñ
'o'rah at ere to-be good was because this thy brother
Chetk hāpār rihur, phir jiwartwā, chulāt-wī, phir miluwartwā'
and hē was, again dire went, lost-went, again met-went'

[No 49]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÖMRÄ

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN

Khêk ādmī-kē dulēm-gō chētā rahuarē Chhōtkā chūtā kahlak
One man-of two sons were Younger son said
 khapnā baptu-sē, 'hē baptu, ōhan chubī hamār chakhrā disu-disu'
own father-to, 'O father, rupees pice our share give'
 Tab chatuar disu Chahu din nā bituaral kī khapnā chakhrā chubī
Then dividing gave Many days not passed that own share pice
 lisu-kē dūr destu chaltoācl ō khapnā randatu sē sab khurā disu
taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-toācl, u naklīf-mē hō-toiēl
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell
 Khēlu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē inā rahuar-toēl, bhumbhur chaurarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-tending
 hsutoācl-naiācl Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē kbēhu randwā tikunē
was-deputed Hushs which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē, khōkrākē kēu nā disuē kichhuē Khōkrā khakīl bhauraral,
wished, him-to anybody not gave anything To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā baptu kīhē chujurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōti
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī Khapnā baptu-kē mar toāeb
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am Own father-of near will-go
 khunkā-sē kahab kī, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō baptu-kē
him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē paptu karūli, ham tōhār chētā kahawē lāek na barūli,
before sin did, I thy son to-be called fit not became,
 hamrā-kē chujurā māfil januarī "' Khutuar-kē apnā baptu-kē mar
me servant like consider "' Arisen-having own father of near
 toālin Chētā-kē thiguar-kē baptu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē
went Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thuru-kē chumahilā hualak Chētā-nē kahulak, 'hē baptu,
neck embraced-having kisses took Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūli, chētā kīhuē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did, son to-say

lak na biruath' Baptn apna nōkarulū-sē kihualak kī, 'chadluñ tēpar
fil no' an' Father own servants to said that, 'good clothes
 nikalwī-ke chētū-ke chenhiō, ō kohīthi-mñ khōngathī an gōrtu-mñ nōtahulā
took off son to put-on, and hand on ring and feet-on shoes
 chahīō o ham tikun khushahulā karnarī, hamār chētā lugail
put on, and we shall eat merry shall make, my son dead
 rahuarallā, jumar toel nula toel rahuillā ab miluar-toāel' U-lōg
became became, lost gone was, now found-became' They
 khushahulā ho toel
became became

kīō kar netka chet khetu-mñ rahuaral Khētū-mñ sē apnā daulō
His big son field in was Field in-from own house
 chētū chahīō hōwarul chaj chajwarul sunahulā Aur nōkarulā sē
and and on house on music beating heard And servant-from
 chētū chētū hōwarul 'kī hōwaralē -' Kham kā-sē kehulō kī,
and and what is-going on?' Him-to said that,
 'kī pu to hōwarul sunal barnaral khapnē kē baptn chadluñ tikunō-kō
'kī pu to hōwarul arrived has become, self of father big eating-for
 barnaral thū lōke chahuaran pramaralē bāt' Tab u nūsi
became became rate and sound found-has' Then he angry
 hōwaral u daul nē ra toel Baptn daul sē khukalsuāel
became and to seen no' went Father house from going-out-came
 'hōwaral chētū liguaralē Tab u baptn-kī jrahbū disuālan, 'ham
became to to enter' Then he father to answer gave, 'I
 'hōwaral kati dīntu sōwahulā kīrūhī Kābū khapnē-kē chahōan
became to to day from service did Exec self of word
 'hōwaral Mudi hōwaral-ke khēgo chētūhī na disu kī khapnā
became to gave I see me to one had not gave that own
 dīntu sōwahulā mūsi kartī Biki dhasbū-kē sangahulā
friends of in company merry might-make But harlots of in-company
 raur chētū ab dīntu khurā disu, to-i tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then
 mūsi chadluñ matikā chētū-kē tihunē-kē disuān' Baptn
good big feast having-prepared eating for you-gave' The-father
 hōkaral hōbulak kī, 'chētū, hamar sāth tu khamcō barnalā, sō
I am to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what
 barnalē hamar, sō tohrē barnaralē Biki khushahulā kīrūkō chahuaral,
is mine, that thine is But merry to make it-was-wanted,
 hōwaral-ke tor hōhulā rōgnar toel, phēr jumar toāel, nula toāel rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went, lost gone was,
 phēr milual toāel'
again found went'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DŌMRĀ

SPECIMEN III

DISTRICT OHAMPARAN

Khak	rajabulā	rahuarē	Khō-krē	dhantu	pañchēm	dhēm	gimāwē
<i>One</i>	<i>īājā</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>His</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>thieves</i>	<i>to-steal</i>
gahuaiā	Gimātē	gimātō	narichh	hō	toāel	Pañchēmu	
<i>went</i>	<i>Stealing</i>	<i>stealing</i>	<i>morning</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>Five</i>	
khāpus-mē	nalēhatu	chicharatu	kirialak,	'ab	na	jantu	bachuai
<i>selves-among</i>	<i>counsel</i>	<i>deliberation</i>	<i>made,</i>	<i>'now</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>living-being</i>	<i>will-be-saved</i>
Natiā	lisu,	khōh	par	dhantu	thirū,	tēpai	churdā
<i>Bed</i>	<i>bring,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>place,</i>	<i>cloth</i>	<i>corpse</i>
Charēmu-gōrā	chārū	chauā	khutā-kō	kandhatu-par	thirū	disu	Khch
<i>Four-of-us</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>legs</i>	<i>having-lifted</i>	<i>shoulders-on</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>One</i>
ādmī	nuthā-mē	kīcha	kōhāth-mē	thirū	lisu,	kandhatu-par	nudāi
<i>man</i>	<i>carrying-in</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>hand-in</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>take,</i>	<i>shoulder-on</i>	<i>hoe</i>
lisu'	Khaisani	kirū-kē	pañchēmō	gēm	ganga	toāel	
<i>take'</i>	<i>Thus</i>	<i>having-done</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>thieves</i>	<i>escaping</i>	<i>went</i>	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property. While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. 'Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take five and carrying in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.' Having done so all five thieves escaped.

MALĀR

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr H Stretfield writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal —

'They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāō, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever, small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or scer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Mundā village, speaking Mundāri and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā'

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901¹ was as follows —

Barchi	976
Palamau	125
Manbhum	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	384
TOTAL	2,309

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans

Mr Stretfield has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bī-man*, these, *bū-man*, those, the genitive suffixes *lar* and *lēr* in forms such as *bū-lar*, his, *bū-man-kēr*, their, verbal forms such as *tuai-raul* *his*, going wast, wentest, *ṣualak*, he has gone, *ṣuabai*, we shall go, *tuabā*, you will go, *ṣuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *lurimu*, herd, *lhaul*, house, *lhulsā*, husband, *chērcās*, hair, *tuai*, going, *ṣōlmā*, neck, *dhaparchū*, forehead, *dhajmā*, liver, *tutkā*, temples, *duṛgā*, old man, *nētra*, blood, *nōhlā*, man, *nōhlīn*, woman, wife, *nōph*, breast, *pupumī*, eyelid, *baṭmī*, food, *ladarmī*, stomach, *luluka*, wrist, *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēōmā*=*chamṛā*, skin, *kandpaṣknī*=*kanpaṣī*, temples, *ṭarmī*=*ṭālū*, palate, *baīckhū*=*bāzū*, upper arm, *mīsi*=*māchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

¹ They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911

A *l* is prefixed in words such as *lōig*=*āg*, fire, *Krānchī*, *Rānchī*, *lōhāt*=*hāth*, forearm, *lōhōr*=*hā*, bone

Kh is added in the front of some words, thus, *khangur*, finger, *khōikh*=*āikh*, eye, *khmrē*=*hamē*, we, *khmsār*=*mās*, flesh, *khvāi*=*ānd*, widow

Ch and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials, thus, *chubhāl*, brother, *chhētā*=*bētā*, son

Dh is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer

N is used in a similar way in *naul*=*bhaul*, bullock

B is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one', thus, *bī*, this, *bū*, that, *ban*, yonder, *bēl*, one

R is substituted for a *p* in *īōnchlū*=*pāch*, five, *īth*=*pīth*, back, *īthkai*=*pēt*, belly, and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel

In *chahinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are —

kai or *khai*, in *īndikai*, veranda, *īthkai*=*pēt*, belly, *dnikhai*=*dwā*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *īaulkhō*, I was. A suffix *l hulā* occurs in *dāntl hulā*=*dāt*, tooth

chū is a very common addition, thus, *gālchū*=*gāl*, cheek, *jāngchū*=*jāng*, thigh, *jībchū*=*jīb*, tongue, *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth

chh is added in *mōichhā*, my, *tōichhā*, thy, cf. *mōēchā*, I, *tōēchā*, thou

durā has been suffixed in *landurā*, ear

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khapai mā*=*khaprā*, tales, *thēhum mā*=*thēvni*, knee, *bhaumā*=*bhaū*, brow, *pakhui mā*=*pakhauā*, shoulder, *baī ārmī*=*īrh*, backbone, *ē mī*=*ērī*, heel, *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc

ī has been added in *nākuī ā*=*nāl*, nose, *khmsāī*=*mās*, flesh, cf. also *nar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself, *joruarek*, to light a fire, *lipuarek*, to whitewash

l is suffixed in *khai chul*=*karchhā*, ladle (also Hindi), *dōl*, two, and so forth

Further details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows —

Numerals.

One	<i>bēl</i> (<i>bēknōt</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khātlū</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōt</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tinlū</i>	Ten	<i>daslū</i>
Four	<i>chaurlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gāimō</i>
Five	<i>īānchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onātschū</i>
Six	<i>chanlū</i>	Twenty	<i>bīschū</i> , <i>bēl kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

Pronouns

I	<i>mōēchā</i>	Your	<i>tohōi mēkēr</i>
My	<i>mōichhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>khamar mē</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khāmī ēkēr</i> , <i>khāmī mēkēr</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankēr</i>
Thy	<i>tōichhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tohōi mē</i>	Yonder	<i>ban</i>

Human beings.

Man	<i>nōhlā</i>	Father	<i>bāpohū</i>
Woman	<i>nōhlām</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>durqā</i>	Son	<i>chhētā</i>
Old woman	<i>durqā</i>	Daughter	<i>chhētī</i>
Boy	<i>chōrā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāi</i>
Girl	<i>chōrmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>husō</i>	Widower	<i>khāñjū</i>
Wife	<i>nōhlā</i>	Widow	<i>khāñjī</i>

Parts of the body

Head	<i>ter am</i>	Thumb	<i>tīpā khangur</i>
Hair	<i>cheacīs</i>	Mid finger	<i>maj khangur</i>
Forehead	<i>dhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kani khangur</i>
Temples	<i>landpathni, tutkē</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmi</i>
Eye	<i>kōñl</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajma</i>	Back	<i>rīth</i>
Eyebrow	<i>bāntio</i>	Side	<i>dōñ khar</i>
Ear	<i>pip am</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī, iōfkar</i>
Eyelashes	<i>pip am cheacīs</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Chin	<i>galchū</i>	Skin	<i>chōrmā</i>
Ear	<i>lat lapa</i>	Tendon	<i>su chu</i>
Nose	<i>okurā</i>	Flesh	<i>khimsar</i>
Mouth	<i>harlar</i>	Liver	<i>dhajmā</i>
Lip	<i>ā</i>	Lungs	<i>polosmā</i>
Tongue	<i>don'kula</i>	Heart	<i>lamatchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jibē'i</i>	Bile	<i>pitichū</i>
Palate	<i>lari lū</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōfmanā</i>
Throat	<i>chōl rmañ</i>	Blood	<i>neti ai</i>
Beard	<i>darli</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Monstrous	<i>lā</i>	Ribs	<i>oñjermā</i>
Neck	<i>fofma</i>	Backbone	<i>bañjrmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>paklurra</i>	Thigh	<i>janqchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>laichū</i>	Knee	<i>thēhunmā</i>
Lower arm	<i>lātāt</i>	Ankle	<i>qhutni</i>
Wrist	<i>hichū</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarkūt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>lai panā</i>
Finger	<i>hanqur</i>		

House and furniture.

House	<i>thaul</i>	Cooking pot	<i>kōhgan</i>
Tiles	<i>thaparma</i>	Earthen pot for carrying water	<i>nōgan</i>
Wall	<i>blitchū</i>	Ladle	<i>khāichul</i>
Door	<i>durhan</i>	Fire	<i>kōiq</i>
Space in front of house	<i>lōngēnā</i>	Ashes	<i>ālchhū</i>
Veranda	<i>rindilai</i>	Broom	<i>cheurhan</i>

Verbs.

to extinguish	<i>myhuarek</i>	Thou goest	<i>tuafhē</i>
to light a fire	<i>joruarē</i>	He goes	<i>tuatakulis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhach</i>	We go	<i>tuatī</i>
to warm oneself	<i>tapuarē</i>	You go	<i>tuatā</i>
to whitewash	<i>hipuarek</i>	They go	<i>tuafhai</i>
I go	<i>tuathō</i>		

QASĀI

Qasāi or Qasāb is the name of the butcher caste The word is derived from Arabic *qasab*, to cut The number of Qasāis returned at the Census of 1901¹ was 369,533, distributed as follows —

Name	Number
Ajmer	66
Andamans	5
Assam	23
Baluchistan	255
Bengal	11,093
Berar	218
Bombay	24,086
Central Provinces	206
Panjab	125,644
United Provinces	184,150
Baroda	851
Central India	918
Hyderabad	2
Kashmir	824
Rajputana	20,202
	<hr/>
TOTAL	369,533

The Qasāis are commonly separated into two endogamous sub-castes, one of which kill cows and buffaloes, while the other only kill goats In the Panjab the former call themselves *bhakkar-sikhhū*, cow killers, and the latter *mehn-sikhhū*, goat killers, or simply *sikhhū* The latter are mostly Hindūs, the former Muhammadans of the Sunnī sect

The Qasāis seem to have a trade language of their own During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Qasāyī-ki Farsī was reported to be spoken by 2,700 persons in the Karnal District Dr T Grahame Bailey has given some information about the secret language of those Qasāis of the Panjab who do not kill cows

AUTHORITIES—

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 BAILEY, REV T GRAHAME, D D — *The Secret Words of the Qasāi (Kasāi)* In "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas," pp 273ff. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol xvii London, 1920 (A Reprint of the preceding)

Specimens of Qasāi have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District The Qasāis of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans The dialect illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qasāi described by Dr Bailey The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qasāis It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qasāis in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī In Karnal we also find Pañjābī forms such as *mazdū, ā-mē*, amongst the servants In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

¹ No Qasāis were recorded under that name in 1911

Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *thāstañ*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *thāstai*, art, is, and *ghādungā*, I shall beat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tip*, see, which is written with a cerebral *t* by Dr Bailey and in the Belgaum specimens, occurs as *tīp* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēiwarnā*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *lēiwarnā*, to take, with a cerebral *n*. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think". It had, however, been written *th* in a Nāgarī transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thūr-nā*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an *ś*, compare *śūd*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *shūd-nā*, *shūr-nā*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr Bailey. The same is the case in *thīs*, six, where Dr Bailey has *thīs*, compare Arabic *sids*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāī argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjarī dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *dhallā* (Bailey *talā*), three, Arabic *thalāth*, *arbā*, four, Arabic 'arba', *lhammas*, Belgaum *lhammīs*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *khamis*, *thīs*, Bailey *this*, six, Arabic *sids*, *āsir*, ten, Arabic 'ashar.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr Bailey's List. Such are *adāl*, put, *akēl*, one (Hindōstānī *akēlā*, alone), *but*, father, or, according to Dr Bailey, a Jāt, *batlā*, rupee, *bhakkār*, cow, *bigarnā* or *bigharnā*, to die (cf Hindōstānī *bigarnā*?), *chilknī*, ring (cf Hindōstānī *chilaknā*, to glitter), *chushmī*, application, *chushkā*, interest, *chabīne*, tooth, *chhanakā*, boy, *dusarnā*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjarī dialect of the district), *gaunā*, to get, *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *gudāle*, in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'), *ghāpnā*, *ghādnā*, to beat, to loose, *gaumb*, thief (Bailey), *halūk*, swine (Karnal), *hajīb*, bad (Belgaum), *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-kē-sab*), all together, *hidap*, take, *lachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadīā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā*?), *lanēli*, bread (Bailey *lhadēli*, *khanēli*), *kajūli*, afternoon, *kahīlā* (Karnal), *laulā* (Belgaum), rupee, *lasnā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'), *kid*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *lodu*), *lhastā*, property, *lhilas* (Karnal), *khilsi* (Belgaum), belly, *lhēdā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *lhēdā*), *khū*, go, *khūm*, word, noise, *khunsā*, starving, *lāgvārē* (Karnal), hundred, *mēknī*, goat, *minjāl*, tongue, *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless', it is used in different senses in the first specimen), *nakātī*, sin, *nand* (Karnal), *nann* (Belgaum), house, *nand*, water (Bailey), *nhāt*, run, *nīngā*, water (Belgaum), *pādā*, bull, *phēkani*, nose, *sīhām*, share, *śebīt*, good, *subal*, younger brother (Belgaum), *subūkdā*, man (Belgaum), *sucālā*, good (Belgaum), *śūd*, eat, *thātknā*, to become, to gather, *thārtā*, being, *tlū*, eat, *thōkanā*, hundred (Belgaum), *tīp*, see, *tuluk*, sleep, *uks*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qasāī

Among prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kāndhū*, a Hindū (Bailey), *jh* in *jhōiā=thōrā*, *m* in *māḍ*, village, cf. *Sāsī nād*, *mīh*, twenty, cf. *bis*, and *l* in *līprā*, cloth, cf. Hindōstānī *kapīā*, *land* and *nand*, house

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bullā*, said, *t* in *hatōtā*, hand, *kannōtyā*, ear, *n* in *akōnyā*, eye, *l* in *bandāl*, bind, *icai* in *āicai*, come, *dicar*, give, etc., *icād* in *baticād*, sit, *bōlicād*, call, *sunicād*, hear, and so forth

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable and the second a Qasāī version of a statement in court, both received from the Karnal District. The third is a popular tale in the dialect of the cow-killing Qasāīs of Belgaum. The Standard List of Words and Sentences from Belgaum will be found below on pp. 181ff.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT KARNAL

Akāl but-kō jaur kadrō thē Nakāt kadrē-nē but-sū bulkā
 One father of two sons there Young son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'ai but, khastō-kā sihām jō mujhō dēwarnā hai dēwar-dē'
 that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give'
 Phir khastō unhē dēwar-divā Jhōrā din pichhē nakāt kadrā
 Then property to-them giving-was-given Few days after younger son
 hap-kō-hap khastō lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā Wahā
 all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went There
 thāik-kar apnē khastō kākāvat-mē urā diyō Jab sārā uksā
 having-gone own property buying-in wasting was-given When all spent
 chukī us mulk-mē khunsō bighai nē lagī, aur wō kadrā nakāt
 finished that country-in hungering to die began, and that son low
 hōnē laga Phir us mulk-kē akāl jēdlī-kē thāik gayā Jēdlī-nē
 to be began Then that country-of one rich-of near went Rich-one-by
 kadrō-kō hākuk charuk-kō uksāvā Aur wō hākuk-kē bachē huē
 son some feeding-for was-sent-away And he some-of left been
 gaunō se apnā khilās jēdlī kairā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē
 refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to him
 dēwarī nī thī Phir jēdlī hōkar khumyāyā, 'mērē but-kē
 giving not was Again sensible having become said, 'my father-of
 bahut-sū mazdūrō-kō kaulī hai, aur māī khunsā bighrū. Māī uks-kar
 many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die I having-risen
 apnō but-kō pās thāikūgī aur us-sō bulkūgā ki, "ai but, māī-nē
 own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 āsmān-kā aur tērī huzūr nakātī ki hai, aur ab is lāik nahī
 heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
 ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jūī Mujhō apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē ahēl jaisā
 that thy son called shall-go Me own servants-in-from one like
 banā " Tab uks-kar apnō but-kē pās uks-gayā Aur wōh
 make " Then having-gone-away own father-of near went And he
 dūr thā ki us-kō tip hai us kē but-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar
 far was that him having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-gone

galē lagūyā aur bahut ehumā Kadrī-uc usē khumvāyā kī, 'aī
neck was-elapsed and much kissed Son by to-him it-was-said that, 'O
 buṭ, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur is kābul nāhī
father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not
 kī tēā kadīā khumvāyā jūñī' But-nē apnē naukṛō-kō khumvāyā
that thy son called shall-go' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said
 kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē līprē lēwar-lāō au usē dēwar-dō, aur kadrī-kē
that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give, and son-of
 gaunē-mē chuknī dīwar-dō au gaunī-mē gaunīyē dēwar-dō Aur ham
hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give And we
 thūrē au jēdlē ho-jāñē, kyū-kī yah mērā kadrā bighrī thū,
may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was,
 ab jiyā hai, nakāt hō-gayā tha, ab āwarā hai' Tab wōh
now alive is, lost become-gone was, now come is' Then they
 jēd hōnē lagē
merry to-be began

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā Jab land-kē pās āwarā,
And his big son field-in was When house-of near came,
 gānē au nāchnē-kī khūm sunī Tab akāl naukṛō-kō khumvāyā
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard Then one servant-to it-was-said
 kī, 'yah kiyā hai?' Us-nē usē khumvāyā kī, 'tērā bhāī
that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother
 uks-āyā hai, au tērē but-nē kanēhī thūwāī hai, is-lyē usē
back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him
 jēdlā tipā' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā chāhā kī nand-mē
well said' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in
 āwarē Tab us-kē but-nē land-sē uks-kā kadrī-kō jēdlā kiyā
may-go Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made
 Kadrī-nē but-sē khumvāyā, 'tip, itnī baras sē māī tūī khidmat
Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so many years-from I thy service
 kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā, par tāñ-nē kabhī
doing am, and ever thy word not was-exercised, but thee-by ever
 akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-dīyā kī apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā
one goat-of young not giving-was-given that own friends-with merry
 hū, au jab tērā yah kadrā āwarā, jis-nē tūī khastā nakāt-mē
might-be, and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in
 jhōrā kiyā, tāñ-nē us-kē hīyā bārī kanēhī kī'
wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was made'
 Us-nē us-kō khumvāyā, 'aī kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur
Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, then always of me near art, and

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARVAL

Binjhaul mād sudhā thā Jataul-kē birīdar aur ham
Binjhaul village being sold was Jataul-of brothers and we
 hap-kō-hap akēl jagah thāikē Binjhaul-mē udhar-sū wuh āwarī,
all one place became Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-iē Āpās-mē khūm karī kī
and this-side-from we again-went Selves-among word was-made that
 mād lēwarā chāhivē Jataul-wālī-nē khūmā karā kī, 'mīh
village to take is wanted Jataul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 hāṣṭē-kē kabīlṭ pūnē hō rabāḥ sāl-kī bakāvat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
hundred-of rupees as-many-as are four years of promise-on you giving-give,
 aur hamāī taraf-kē bhī batlē tum kas-dō Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay Them-of interest and
 kabīlṭ rabāḥ sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē Thīswē mahinē chuskā kas diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give Six months interest paid
 karēgē' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thāik-kar khūm karī
shall-make' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made
 Ham nand-sē khūmmas lāgwārē batlē lēkar rabāḥ-wē dīn
We' home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāl-kē batlē kas-nē āḥ Manījar sāhib-kē yahā
each nest-money of money to-pay came Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāl-kē batlē kas dīṭ Hākāvat karī kī, 'āsar
each nest-money-of money paid was given Promise was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh dīn-mē āwar-kar bēwār lēwar hō Sārhe
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take With-one-half
 mīh hāzār batlē-mē tum-kō mād dēwar-dēgē' Manījar-nō
twenty thousand rupees for you-to village giving-shall-give' Manager-by
 khūmā karā, 'hamārī pēdlā vilāvat-mē thāikā ham Mād-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is Village-of sale
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh dīn mē khabar lēwar-hyō' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take' Twenty
 aglē āsar dīn-mē Bērī-kē ilāqē-kē kādū-nē purē akēl mīh
and ten days-in Bērī-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty

hazār-mē	māḍ	lēwarnē-kī	QASĀĪ	chishmī	dī.	Hamē	khabar
thousand-for	village	taking-of		application	was-given	To-us	information
huī kī	akēl	Bērī-kā	kāḍū	māḍ	lēwartā	hai	Ham
became that	one	Beri-of	banyā	village	taking	is	We
lāgwārē	batlē	sāi-kē	earnest-money-of	has-āē	paying-came	Aisī	lakāyat
hundred	rupees	māḍ	bhi gaunē	na	lagē	Such	matter
hōwē,	should-happen,	village	also to-get	should-succeed	aur	and	na
ghārē jāwē	lost should-go	Hap-kē-hap	khumā	har-kē	Bērī	kahilē	bhi
thak-har	hap-kē-hap-kō	All-together	word	having-made	Beri	again-went	also
reaching	all	thakā-har	having-gathered	word	hiyā,	'tum	Bērī
birādar	Kāḍū	tumhārā	hai, us-nē	māḍ	lēwarnā	thāp	hamārē
brother	Banyā	yours	is, him-by	village	to-take	resolve	hiyā
Ham	Jataul-sē	āwarē	hai	Bhāichārē sē	lāḍū-kō	banyā-to	say
We	Jataul-from	come are		Brotherhood-on-account-of	lāḍū-kō	'tū	hamārā
kī māḍ	na	lēwarē	Kāḍū-sē	lhumā	harā,	was-made,	our
that village	not	should-take	Banyā-to	word	hamārē	birādrā-kō	māḍ
lālā	hai	Hamārī	hakāyat	mān-lē,	our	brothers-to	lhumyāō
respected-sir	art	Our	request	obey,	māḍ	lēwarnē-sē	back
lēwarnē	dē,	Kāḍū	hakāyat	mān	gayā,	went,	taking-from
to-take	give	Banyā	request	heeding	lēwar-hiyā	taking-was-taken	
gayā	Ham	birādrā-nē	māḍ				
went	We	brother-by	village				

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

Binjhaul village was going to be sold. We and our brothers in Jataul came together. They came from there and we from here to Binjhaul, and we agreed to buy the village. The Jataul people said, 'pay the price which may be fixed for twenty *biswā*¹, you might undertake to pay in four years and also our share of the money. In four years we shall refund you the money with interest, and we shall pay interest every six months.' We had all gathered in one place and consulted, and four days afterwards we came to pay five hundred rupees as earnest-money, and we paid them in the presence of the manager. He told us to come back in a month and get information, and that he might let us have the village for thirty thousand rupees. 'My master,' he said, 'is in Europe. You may get his decision about the sale in a month.' After a month a Banyā of the Beri District made an application for getting the village at a price of twenty thousand rupees, and we were informed that the Banyā was going to buy it. We had paid five hundred rupees in earnest money and it would be too bad not to get the village and also to lose our money. We then consulted and went to Beri, and then we all came together and said, 'you are our brothers. There is a Banyā amongst you, and he has resolved to buy the village. We have now come from Jataul. For the sake of our kinship tell the Banyā not to buy the village.' They said to him, 'you are our respected master, listen to our words and let our brothers have the village.' The Banyā took notice of their request and withdrew from the business. Then we brothers got the village.

¹ A *biswā* is the twentieth part of a *bighā*

² The word *kāṭā*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain parcher'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀI

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ekkan	khēḍe-me	Rāmāyā	kanē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā	Une
One	village-in	Rāmāyā	called	one	patēl	was	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammīs
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō	nann-ku	awaryā			Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought	house-to	came			Him-to
arabā-jan	kachēlē	thārtē-the	Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bāla	
four-persons	sons	were	Them-of	names	Sank	Bāla	
Bhima	Hanama	Patēl	apani	arabā	jan	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhima	Hanama	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	'kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammīs	
said,	'sons,	lo,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hai	Tume	arabā	jan	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammīs-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kīd'		E	banat
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give'		These	words
sunwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khūs	huwādā		Uno	aīsā
having-heard	those	sons-to	pleasure	became		By-them	such
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bi	tīpyā-ch-natte		Uno	yō	phal
nice	mango-fruits	ever-even	seen-not-were		By-them	these	fruits
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusārē-wāīsā	batwād-karwād-ke			sūdē	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten	
Kajlī-ku	tuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmāyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ko	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmāyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	'pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kidyātā	āmb	kēsa	thārtā-the ?
said,	'dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were ?
Use	Sank	kanē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlā	uttar	kidyā,	'bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	'father, that
phal	miye	bahut	śēbit	diswādyā	Ō	bahut	śēbit
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared	That	very	good
							fruit

<u>thārtal.</u>	Maĩ	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwād-ke	tharā-hiyā-hai.
<i>is</i>	<i>By-me</i>	<i>that-of</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>I ept-to/ en-is.</i>
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwād-ke	wakt-me	pīrwādaū'
<i>That</i>	<i>rain-of</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>beginning</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>time-in</i>	<i>am-seeing'</i>

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

In a certain village there lived a Patēl named Rāmayyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Hanama. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words, they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmayyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

SIKALGĀRĪ

The caste known as *saigalgars*, *sīqligars*, *sikligars*, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *ṣaiqal-qar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *saqal*, to polish.

'Since the disarming of the country,' says Mr Crooke, 'the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Sīqligar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strip between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammadans of the lower artisan class.'

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as 'elsewhere'.

Of these 1,518 were returned as Hindus, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called Sikligarī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgam District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Sumpson *talūqa* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgārī have been forwarded from that place.

To judge from these materials Sikalgārī in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dīlārō*, son, *dīkara*, sons, *gāyāyō*, cows, the case suffixes dative *-nē*, ablative *-lō* (Gujarātī *-lō*), genitive *-nō*, locative *-mā*, pronouns such as *mīto*, my, *ham*, we, *tume*, you, verbal forms such as *chhē*, is, *lō'ō*, was, *lō'ō*, took, *malyū*, it was got, *charāō-nō*, to tend, *thēl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disappearance of aspirates, compare *chhukhō*, hungering, *chōllācā*, to be called, *duṭṭinē*, having eaten, *nittē*, always, *guffā*, bale, *lhubō*, standing, *sādīnē*, having searched, *latō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pāñjabī, the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*, thus, *thavngā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g* future is also used in some Bhil dialects,¹ and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as Sikalgārī and Bhilī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as Sīyālgirī in Vol. IX, Part III, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with Sikalgārī.

¹ See Vol. II, Part III, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *v* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *lh* instead of an *s*. This *lh* has been treated as a spirant *lh* in dealing with Sīyālgīrī. In Sīkalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Sīyālgīrs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sīkalgārs, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sīkalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Sīyālgīrs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *lh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sīkalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sīkalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *lōyrā*, people, men, *lhālmānyū*, swine, *lhēdō*, village, *lhōl*, house, *gār*, give, *chingā*, dress, *chōkō*, good, *chhūmō*, horse, *du*, eat, *dhōtīyō*, belly, *nikaf*, run, *nikar*, die, *nikdiyō*, thief, *pādō*, bull, *pottū*, child, *ranban*, wife, *sabādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *lh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel, thus, *khubō*, standing, *lhuppar*, above, *lhelā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime, *lhaikīnē*, having heard, *lh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*, thus, *khāt*, seven, *lhāmō*, before, *lhārā*, all, *lhāpdyō*, he was found, *lhō*, hundred. In *lhāpāyō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

Ch and *chh* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots, compare *chōllāwā*, to be called, *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upāy*, *chhāndī*, having bound, *chhukhō*, hungering.

An *n* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *lh*, which is substituted for a final *s*, thus, *kāpukh*=*kapās*, cotton, *īlh*, twenty, *dakhālū*, ten, *manekh*, man, *warakh*, year. A *t* is added to this *lh* in forms such as *ākhī*, she came, *lēkhtyō*, tookest. In *nikat*, run, *kat* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōt* in *kagōtyō*, did, *ghāgōfō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals, thus, *jākan*, he goes, *gahnyō*, went, *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *ohhōhrō*, *rhākan*, he lives, *īhakanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put, *jāgal*, go, *dhagīl-wā-nū*, of catching, *phaglinē*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Mundā suffixes *lat'*, *lan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *lhl* or *ll* has been added in words such as *ehlālā*, so many, *lehlālā*, how many? *lehlālā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nāḥchī*, sin, *mhecheṭī-lē*, putting take, compare Gujarātī *mēlicḥ*

Other additions are *t*, *d* and *p*, thus, *deṭṭā-nū*, of God, *jueṭō*, alive, *nākōḍū*, nose, *mhōḍū*, month, *anpū*, food

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp 181ff

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ

SPECIMEN I

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ēk manekh-nē bē dīkarā hotā Tinā-mā nhānchōn dīkarō
One man-to two sons were Them-among by-the-younger son
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē ākhtwānō wātō
own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share
 ma-nē gār' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wātīnē
me-to give' By-the-father them-among own property having-divided
 gāryō Nhānchōn dīkarō āpnō wātō line dūr gām-nē
was-given Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 jāknīnē ghanā dīn thayā naī, kheklā-mā tō dhundh thainē
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōtyō Tō im karīnē-par tē gāmō-mā
own property wasted-was-made He so having-done-on that village-in
 jabai dukāl padīnē tī-nē garībī ākhtī Tō tē gāmō-mā
mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty came He that village-in
 ēk manekh-kan tsākīī rhakhanyō Ē manekh tī-nē khālmānyū
one man-near in-service remained This man him swine
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy -gāryō Tyā chhukkō kalwal
to-graze field-to sending was-given There hungry afflicted
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōndō-bī duttī-nē dhōtrīyō
having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly
 bhagli-lētō-tō, pan tī-nē kī-kantū kāyī mālyū naī Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not So
 thōknā dīn gahnyā, āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum padīnē tō āpnā
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayelnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtrīyō
mund-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly
 bbarī nē khuppar anpū māltū tū, mī hyā chhukkō mīkartaū
having-filled above food obtained-was, I here hungry am-dying
 Mī khubō-thārīnē yabā-kan jāknīnē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwtā-nū
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of

pāp yabā-nū pāp ohhāndi hdyō Mi tārā dīkarō karīnē
sin father-of sin having-tied was-taken I thy son having-said
 chōllāwā jōgō naī Ma-nē ēh tsākri dākal tārā-kan
to-be-called worthy not Me one servant like of-thee-hear
 mhēohvī-lē " Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-thārinē āpnā
keep " So having-said - there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō Pachē yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dēkhīnē mayā
father-near going-was Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē niktīnē jāknīnē dhag-līnē matṭi gāryō
having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given
 Pachē dīkar yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā
Then son father-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchī kagōtyō Ma-nē tārā dīkarō karīnē chōlāwu
before sin was-done Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō ' I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, 'chōkō chingā
is-not-fit ' This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 lāvine mārā dīkarā-nē ghāgōtō, nāpchā-mā khangōti ghāgōto,
having-brought my son-to put-on, finger on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō, dutwān-nō ' tayārī kagōtō, ham dūtti-nē
feet-on shoes put, dinner-of preparation make, we having-eaten
 santōs thaungā, sakarwā-ka-tō, yē mārō dīkarō nikaryō-tō, phaglinē
merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwto āyō, niktīnē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō ' E khāikīnē khārā
alive came, lost gone-was, was-found ' This having-heard all
 santōs thayā
merry became

Yē wakhat-mā ti-nō mōtō dīkarō khētar-mā hotō Tō khōl-kan
This time-in his elder son field-in was He house-near
 āwtākhū ti-nē gānū nāchanū khāikū āyū Tō tē tsākar-wālā-mā
coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came He those servants-among
 ek-nē chōlāyīnē, 'sū thāwā lāgū-oh ?' kadyō Tyā-nō tō, 'tārō
one-to having-called, 'what becoming is ?' said Him-to he, 'thy
 bhāyī akhtyō-oh, tō chōkō ākhtyō karīnē duṭwā kagōtyō, 'im
brother came-even, he well came having-said dinner was-made,' so
 kadyō Yē khāikīnē mōtō dīkarō rekh-āyīnē māhī gaknyō
said This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went
 naī, karīnē ti-nō yabō baharō āvinē, 'māhī ākhtal,
not, having-done his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
 karīnē ti-nē ghanō kadyō Ti-nē tō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'mī
having-said him-to much said That-to he own father-to said, 'I

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagōṭinē kadī tāri wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
 bhāgyō naĩ Pañ mi mārā mhaitarṇē maḷinē dutwā
was-broken not But I my friends having-gathered feast
 kagōtwādē tū ma-nē kadī ēk bakrō-bi gāryō naĩ Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-even was-given not But
 rānd-nō sangat padinē tāri jingī khārī gaḷi-gayō-tō
has-lots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
 yē tārō dikarō khōl-nē ākhtaltākhū tū ti-nē walē dutwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
 kagōtyō ' Yabō dikarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasī
was-made' Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.
 Mū-kan raheltō khārā tārā-ch mayē Nīkaryō-tō tāri bhāyī
Me-near being all thine-alone is Dead-was thy brother
 phaglinē jiwto āyō, niktinē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō, karinē ham santōs
again alive came, lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry
 thawānū barōbar chhē '
to-become proper is'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGARI

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpār-ō kāpukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōttō-tō Ek
Byapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was One
 dīn tē gām-mā-tū kāyi nīkdīvā malīnē wakāt sādīnē
day that village in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
 tē khyāpār-ā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kāpukh-nā gaṭṭā nīkdī karīnē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having made
 h-gayā Pachē to khyāpār-ō bādśahā-kan jāknīnē āpnō khōl-mā
took-away Then that merchant long-near having-gone own house-in
 nīkdī-thēl wāt kadyō 'Im nīkdī thawānī ghanī sarmundī
theft-committed story told 'So theft to-become very disgraceful
 wāt chhē, āj-nō dīn dharīnē ohar dīn-mā tū tē nīkdiyā-nē
matter is, today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
 nāī dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nīkārungā,' im tī-nē hukum kagōtyō Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off,' so him-to order made This
 wāt khaikīnē kotwāl nīkdiyā-nē patiyō kādwanē walē ghantōl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much
 khatpat kagōtyō, pan tō khāpdyā nāī
labour did, but they were-found not
 Kheklā-mā bādśahā-nō gārāl chār dīn kharīnē pāchmō dīn
This-much-in long-of given four days having-expired fifth day
 ākhtyō 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nīkārungā,' karīnē gām-mā dangōrō
came 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum
 khojādyō Yē khaikīnē khārā koyrā talmaiyā, sakarwākaitō
was-beaten This having-heard all people were-grieved, because
 kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō Yē khabar khaikīnē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was This news having-heard that village-in-of
 ēk ēyānō manekh bādśahā-kan jāknīnē hatō jōdīnē māgī
one clever man long-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
 hdyō
was-taken

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

GULGULIĀ

The Gulguhās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulguhās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguhās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulguhās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *tebigō*, fell, *lugigō*, died, *kuṭāchhi*, have eaten, *lōi*, tempest, *nēmru*, bullock, *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsi *taunā*, fall; *lugnā*, die, *dūtnā*, eat, *nād*, village, Garodī *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kh* is substituted for *b* in *khāh*=*biyāh*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five, *jh* for *t* in *jhun-gō*=*tin*, three, *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an inter-linear translation.

Kōrāet	lōr	tebigō,	jhun-gō	nāchh	tebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
Last-night	a-tempest	fell,	three	trees	fell,	five	bullocks

lugigō
died

Jhātu sēti	nōpi	kuṭāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō
Yesterday-from	not	eaten-have,	house-in	food (?)	not	is

Hamar	pānhū	khāh	bhēkhaligō,	jamāē	nāhkat	chhakhālō
My	daughter's	wedding	became,	son-in-law	house-in	is

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	Ôdî (Cutch)	Sāi (Ordinary)	Sāi (Criminal)
1 One	Ēk	Ēk .	Bck
2 Two .	Dôn	Dō	Dhōr
3 Three	Tin	Tin	Thōr
4 Four	Chār	Chār	Chaug
5 Five	Pāch	Pañj	Nach
6 Six	Chha	Chē	Nhō
7 Seven	Sāt	Sat .	Nhat
8 Eight	Āth	Ath	Kōth
9 Nine	Nau	Nan	Khañ
10 Ten	Das	Das .	Khas
11 Twenty	Vis	Wi	Khis
12 Fifty	Pachās	Pañjah	Nañjah
13 Hundred	Sō	Sau	Nhan
14 I	Hē	Hañ	Hañ
15 Of me	Māchā	Mērā	Mērgā
16 Mine .	Māchā	Mērā .	Mērgā .
17 We	Amī	Ham	Ham . .
18 Of us	Am-chā	Mhārā	Mhārgā
19 Our .	Am chā	Mhārā . .	Mhārgā .
20 Thou	Tū	Tañ	Tañ
21 Of thee	Tidhā	Tērā	Tērgā
22 Thine	Tidhā	Tērā .	Tērgā .
23 You	Tamī	Tam .	Tam
24 Of you . .	Tam-chā	Tuhārā	Tuhārgā
25 Your .	Tam chā	Tuhārā .	Tuhārgā

	Kanjari (Sitapur)	Kanjari (Belgaum)	Na'ī (State Rampur)
English	Bēk, khakēlā	El kan	Bel
1 One .	Dubēlā .	Jand	Dhōr
2 Two	Tibēlū	Dhallā .	Pbēr
3 Three	Chabēlā	Arabā	Chauk
4 Four	Pachēlū	Khammis . .	Nēch
5 Five	Chhabēlū	Thīs	Nhō .
6 Six	Satēlū	Khammis-jand	Nath .
7 Seven	Khatēlū	Khammis-dhallū	Kōṭ
8 Eight	Namēlū . .	Opc-āsir	Khanau . . .
9 Nine .	Dasēlū .	Āsir . . .	Khas
10 Ten	Bisēlū	Mī .	Khis
11 Twenty	Rachās	Kbādo ṭhōkanō .	Machās
12 Fifty .	Sawēlū .	Thōlapō	Khanū .
13 Hundred	Maī	Maī	Hū
14 I	Mērō .	Mērō	Mērō .
15 Of me	Mērō	Mērō	Mērō . .
16 Mine	Ham, maī	Hamē . .	Kham .
17 We	Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā .
18 Of us	Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
19 Our .	Taī, tū	Yō	Nū
20 Thou	Tērō	Yurōkō	Tērā
21 Of thee	Tērō .	Yurōkō	Tērā
22 Thine	Taī, tū	Tumē	Num . .
23 You	Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā
24 Of you . .	Tērō	Tumārō .	Numhārā
25 Your		-	

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES

Qasul	Sikal asl (Belgavanin)	English
Ekkan	Er	1. One
Jaud	Br	2. Two
Dhalla	Tan	3. Three
Arañ	Ch	4. Four
Khammis	Pe	5. Five
This	Ch	6. Six
Khammis	Ch	7. Seven
Khammis	Ch	8. Eight
Chamis	Ch	9. Nine
Ch	Ch	10. Ten
Ch	Ch	11. Eleven
Ch	Ch	12. Twelve
Ch	Ch	13. Thirteen
Ch	Ch	14. Fourteen
Ch	Ch	15. Fifteen
Ch	Ch	16. Sixteen
Ch	Ch	17. Seventeen
Ch	Ch	18. Eighteen
Ch	Ch	19. Nineteen
Ch	Ch	20. Twenty
Ch	Ch	21. Twenty-one
Ch	Ch	22. Twenty-two
Ch	Ch	23. Twenty-three
Ch	Ch	24. Twenty-four
Ch	Ch	25. Twenty-five
Ch	Ch	26. Twenty-six
Ch	Ch	27. Twenty-seven
Ch	Ch	28. Twenty-eight
Ch	Ch	29. Twenty-nine
Ch	Ch	30. Thirty

English	Ôdiki (Cateh)	Sēsī (Orallary)	Sēsī (Criminal)
26 He .	Sū	Uh	Buh
27 Of him .	Tē chā	Uskū	Buskū .
28 His .	Tē chā . . .	Usku . .	Buskū . .
29 They	Sū, (awē)	Uh	Buh . .
30 Of them	Tē-chā, (awē chā)	Uṛkū .	Bunkū
31 Their	Tē chā, (awē chā)	Unkū .	Bupkū . .
32 Hand	Hāth .	Hāth	Khōth
33 Foot	Pag .	Pair . .	Nair
34 Nose	Nāk	Nākk .	Khakk
35 Eye	Ālh	Āllh	Kuḷḷh
36 Mouth	Mō .	Mūh .	Khūh . .
37 Tooth .	Ḍāt .	Dand .	Khadōnd
38 Ear	Kān	Kānn . .	Kann . . .
39 Hair	Wār .	Bal .	Bāl .
40 Head	Thōṛ	Sir .	Nhīa . .
41 Tongue .	Jibh .	Jibh	Jibh .
42 Belly	Pēt	Pōṭṭ .	Nott . . .
43 Back	Pāṭh	Piṭṭh	Niṭṭh .
44 Iron	Lōḍhē	Lōhā	Lōhā
45 Gold	Sōnē	Sannnē	Baunnā
46 Silver	Rūpē	Chāndī	Chāndī
47 Father	Bā	Bapp	Bāptā .
48 Mother	Ār	Mā	Mautī
49 Brother	Bhan	Bhal	Bhautē
50 Sister	Bāṇ	Bān	Dhabāṇ
51 Man	Māpas	Banda	Kōdmī
52 Woman	Bāyī	Janani	Bārmī

Kolhāṭī (Alola)	Gārodī	Myanwale	English
Ō	Wō	Ū	He
Us kū	Wō-kē	Wāko	Of him
Us kā	Wō-kō	Wāko	His
Ō	Yō	Vō	They
Un kū	Yō-lō	Wākōyi	Of them
Un kō	Yō lō	Wākōyi	Their
Hōtta, kohōt	Gōnō	Gōt	Hand.
Pāw, gōnā	Gōnālī	Gōpō	Foot.
Khanākka, nākka	Nakēchi	Khinnak	Nose
Kolākha	Kanēchi	Gīqī	Eye
Khumma	Khōmqā	Chhōpō	Mouth
Natta	Dāqāwī	Kōq	Tooth
Rōnna	Kānōchi	Rūlan	Ear
Nāy	Turwalō	Rāḷ	Hair
ṭummi	Tōlchō	Niskō	Head
Nīb	Jībēchi	Jīb	Tongue
Nēṭ	Phamuklō	Rēpaṭ	Belly
Nīṭṭh	Paanēchi	Nīṭ	Back
Lōkhaṇḍ	Dharālī	Lhō	Iron
Bōnnā	Bōngā	Bōnō	Gold.
Nāri	Gaudilō	Nāndī	Silver
Bāptā	Bhāwutō	Māwutō	Father
Bhāwtī	Māwutī	Māwutī	Mother
Bhāwtā	Bhēkdē	Rhākḷō	Brother
Bānchī	Bhanlchī	Rhākḷī	Sister
Kōdmi	Khadmi, or kējā	Khādmi	Man
Kājji, hōṭṭī	Kājī	Ḍāmi	Woman.

English.	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Nāṭī (State Rampur)
26 He . .	Bihī, wō, hūrō, ūr	Ē	Wuh
27 Of him . .	Burō-kō, urū-kō	Urokhō	Nus kī
28 His .	Burō-kō, urū kō	Urokhō	Nus kī
29 They	Bihī, wō, hūrō, ūr .	Ō	Wō
30 Of them . .	Burō-kō, urū kō	Unakhō .	Nun kā
31 Their	Burō-kō, urū-kō	Unākhō .	Nun kā
32 Hand	Kōhat .	Hattāṭo	Hōt
33 Foot	Gurārā, gurārā	Gurādāle	Naṭ
34 Nose	Nak hēli	Nakōta	Nakfā
35 Eye	Ṭakhni	Khakēle	Ūkh . .
36 Mouth	Khōsar	Moṇdā	Khum
37 Tooth .	Dat-hēlā	Datēle	Khudāṭ .
38 Ear	Kan-hēlā .	Kanēlē .	Rān .
39 Hair	Bar-hēlā . . .	Bālō	Khabāl
40 Head	Mur-hēlā .	Śūrō .	Nāhas
41 Tongue	Jim hēli .	Jībēli .	Khajib .
42 Belly	Pit-hēlō .	Pēṭo	Nēṭ
43 Back .	Pithēli	Pitēli	Nīṭh
44 Iron	Lohēlō . .	Lhawō .	Khalōvā
45 Gold	Rōnō	Sunnō .	Bānā
46 Silver	Rādī . .	Chāndī .	Khanādī . .
47 Father	Bap-hēlō	Bāpō	Khabāp, nāp
48 Mother	Mahtārī .	Māyyā	Khamā
49 Brother	Chibhāī . . .	Bhāī	Bhaoṭā .
50 Sister	Rahin	Bhavan	Chhēn .
51 Man	Najāū, khādmi	Kājarō . .	Kūdmi . .
52 Woman	Najāī	Kājarī . .	Khēr

Qasiri	Sikalgarī (Helgaum)	English
Une	To	
U- kũ	Tinũ	26 He
Us k i	Tinũ .	27 Of him
Uno	Tõ	28 His
Un kũ	Tinã	29 They
Un kũ	Tinã	30 Of them
Hatõta .	Hatõ	31 Their
Gudãle	Pagõ	32 Hand
Phelani .	Nãkõdũ	33 Foot
Alõpã	Kũngi	34 Nose
Ma	Mhõdũ	35 Eye
Chabino	Dãtõ .	36 Mouth
Kannõtru	Kãkõdũ	37 Tooth
Bãlã	Bãlõ	38 Ear
Šir	Mãta	39 Hair
Minjũ	Jib	40 Head
Khũlẽ	Dhõtrỹõ	41 Tongue
Pĩ	Pĩõdũ	42 Belly
Lõwlu .	Lhõdũ	43 Back
Sõnu .	Khõnũ	44 Iron
Khũrũ	Chãndi	45 Gold
Bãbũ	Ynbõ	46 Silver
Ãmmĩ	Yãyi	47 Father
Tawuna bhãĩ (elder), subũl-bhãĩ (young er)	Bhãyi	48 Mother
Bũ (elder), bhũn (youȳor)	Bhõp	49 Brother
Subũkũ	Maũekh	50 Sister
Subũkãdĩ	Bãyko	51 Man
		52 Woman

English.	Ōdkī (Cutch)	Sṣṣī (Ordinary)	Sṣṣī (Criminal)
53 Wife	Waū .	Rann	Bārml .
54 Child	Chhōyṣā	Mūṇḍā, mūṇḍī	Bōrā, bōri .
55 Son	Pūt	Pūt .	Bōrō
56 Daughter	Dhū .	Dhī	Bōri
57 Slave	Golām	Ghulām . .	Ghulām
58 Cultivator	Khērū .	Kajjā	Khēṭā
59 Shepherd	Bharnār	Ājri, ajārī	Ājri, ajārī
60 God	Bhagwān	Khudā .	Rudāh
61 Devil	Ḍait	Shaitān	Shaitān
62 Sun .	Sōraj	Sūraj .	Nūraj .
63 Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chann
64. Star	Tārā	Tārā	Tārā .
65 Fire	Tāḍhā	Āgg	Pingī, kōgg
66 Water	Pāṇi .	Pāpi	Chai .
67 House	Ghar	Ghar	Khanlā .
68 Horse	Gorā .	Ghōrā	Kudrā .
69 Cow	Gāy	Gā .	Lālā . .
70 Dog	Kutā	Kūtā . .	Bhūkal
71 Cat	Munā	Bahā .	Komā, dhēhrā .
72. Cock	Kukṛā	Kūkar .	Kūlar
73 Duck	Bodak	Batak	Batak .
74. Ass	Gārō	Khōtā	Gannā
75 Camel	Ūṭh	Ūṭh .	Thūb
76 Bird	Pakhi	(Little) Chupā, pañchhi	Nipya
77 Go	Ja	Jānā .	Jasrnā
78 Eat	Khā	Khānā .	Dātā
79 Sit	Pēs	Baisnā	Ṭhaūknā

English	Kanjarī (Silapar)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Nati (State Kanjar)
53 Wife	Mohrārū	Jō	Chhū
54 Child		Bachchu	Khabālak
55 Son	Chābko	Baḍḍo	Bōri
56 Daughter	Chābki	Baḍi	Bōri
57 Slave	Gulambhōlo	Pālakḍo	Gulam
58 Cultivator	Khit-hōlo	Rait	Rasūn
59 Shepherd	Dhararā	Dhangar	Randariyā
60 God	Rām	Mahābhūb	Nannaswar
61 Devil	Bhut hōlo	Santāno	Khabhūt
62 Sun	Suraj hōlo	Surūj	Nūraj
63 Moon	Chand-hōlo	Chānd	Khanūd
64 Star	Tar-hōlā	Tārō	Khatārā
65 Fire	Jhuraf	Ahgārō	Ōg
66 Water	Nimāni	Niwāni	Chhañ
67 House	Rib	Nandō	Lohallā
68 Horse	Ghurārō	Ghōḍo	Rohaychā
69 Cow	Nāḍli	Gāyō	Tiyārgi rāḍ
70 Dog	Jhūkil	Kutto	Jhumkar
71 Cat	Bilaiā	Billi	Khablāi
72 Cook	Murgā	Muragā	Khamurg
73 Duck	Radak	Batkō	Tiyārgi nadak
74 Ass	Gādhā	Gaddō	Rohā
75 Camel	Uṭ-hōlo	Hūṭ	Hūṭ
76 Bird	Chiraiā	Parinde	Narand
77 Go	Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāsārō
78 Eat	Dut	Thūr	Doti lēo
79 Sit	Raṭh	Chaiṭ	Thōki jāḍ

Q. 111	Sikalgari (Belgaum)	English.
Jorū	Ranban	53 Wife
Bachchā	Poftū	54 Child
Kachulā	Dikarō	55 Son
Kachēlī	Dikarī	56 Daughter
Hāyukadu	Lōkto	57 Slave
Rant	Rhant	58 Cultivator
Dhangar	Dhangar	59 Shepherd
Allā	Dōwṭō	60 God.
Śant in	Bhutaḍū	61 Devil
Surj	Din	62 Sun
Chānd	Chānd	63 Moon
Tara	Chandni	64 Star
Angir	Āg	65 Fire
Nirgā	Pani	66 Water
Nann	Khōl	67 House
Ghōda	Chhinnō	68 Horse
Bhakkar	Gārḍi	69 Cow
Kuttā	Kutro	70 Dog
Billi	Billādi	71 Cat.
Muragi	Kakḍō	72 Cook
Badak muragi	Badak	73 Duck
Gadaḍā	Gadaḍā	74 Ass
Hāṭ	Hāt	75 Camel
Parindā	Pakhrā	76 Bird
Kha	Jālan	77 Go
Śad	Dut	78 Eat
Boṭwād	Bukhl	79 Sit.

English	Ódki (Catch)	Sáki (Ordinary)	Sáki (Criminal)
80 Come	Áw	Annū . . .	Asrnā . . .
81 Beat .	Mār . .	Marnā .	Idnā .
82 Stand . .	Ūbh	Khlōnn .	Khlōnā, kln)ā or rn)ā hōpnā
83 Die .	Mar .	Marnā .	Luqnā .
84 Give	Dō .	Dēnn .	Dōpnā .
85 Run	Dhōr .	Nasnā, dnuṛnā	Binānā .
86 Up	Mathō	Ufātī	Khōpar
87 Near	ParKhō mī	Nōrō	Dhannōrō
88 Down	Nichō .	Tn)ā	Tn)ā .
89 Far .	Parō	Dūr .	Khndūr .
90 Before	Mōrō	Aggō	Kuggō
91 Behind	Wāsō . .	Pichhō .	Nioñhō
92 Who	Kōr .	Kann	Kann .
93 What	Kāy	Kyā	Kyā .
94 Why	Kulāy	Kyā	Kyā
95 And	Anō . .	Tō	Tō
96 But	Paṛ	Par .	Par .
97 If	Jō .	Jōkar, jō	Jōkar jō
98 Yes	Ha .	Āhō	Ānō
99 No .	Na	Na	Na .
100 Aias	Arō	Hāō	Hāō
101 A father	Ba	Bapp	Bāptā
102. Of a father	Ba chā	Bappā gā (gō, gī, -gīā)	Bāptō gā .
103 To a father	Bā nō .	Bappā-gī .	Bāptō gī .
104 From a father	Bā ti	Bappā-thō	Bāptō thō
105 Two fathers	Dōn ba	Dō bapp	Dhōr bāptō
106 Fathers	Ba	Bāpp	Bāptō

Kolhāṭī (Akola)	Garoḍī	Myanwale	English
Nyākānā	Hāvāṭ	Barwāḍ	80 Come
Thāy	Lugā	Lōt	81 Beat
Uḷā rahō	Khūt-kō khub-ra	Khub-rōk	82 Stand
Lakṣī	Lag	Lagṭ	83 Die
Dēppa	Walā	Khuchwāḍ	84 Give
Ḍhas	Nimal	Chugawāḍ	85 Run
Uprē	Khūpar	Khūpar	86 Up
Nyik	Kan	Khurō	87 Near
Tanhō	Tan	Talkō	88 Down
Dar	Dā	Dūg	89 Far
Sāme	Khagādī	Khagādī	90 Before
Pichchhe	Dzichōḍī	Ripchō	91 Behind
Kōn, jō	Kōn	Kun	92 Who
Kā	Kō	Ku	93 What
Kyō	Kaikō	Kaykō	94 Why
An	Haur	Ōr	95 And
Par, naraṇṭa	Lekin	Lēkin	96 But
Inb	To	To	97 If
Hāw	Hōy	Hā	98 Yes
Nāhāpi	Hapenā	Naī	99 No
Arē	Are	Ayyō	00 Alas
Bāptā	Ek mū bhawutō	Khōk māwutō	01 A father
Baptō kā	Ek mu bbawutō-kō	Khōk māwutō kō	02 Of a father
Bāptō ku	Ek mū bhāwutō-kū	Khōk māwutō kū	03 To a father
Bāppā thō si	Ek mā bhāwutō si	Khōk māwutō si	04 From a father
Dhōr bāptō	Dul mā bhāwutō	Dōg māwutō	05 Two fathers
Bāpō	Bhāwutō	Māwutō	06 Fathers.

English.	Kanjari (Sitapur)	Kanjar (Belgaum)	Nati (State Rampur)
80 Come	Aogh	Awar	Āsurō
81 Beat	Lugai	Kutwār	Lōthō
82 Stand	Thapko hō	Khūt	Rarōpi
83 Die	Lugaj	Margō	Lōgi juō
84 Give	Tiūr	Kidō	Dēpi dē
85 Run	Daurū	Nhaṭwārō	Khadōpō
86 Up	Khāpar	Khūpai	Khūpar
87 Near	Nagich hēlē	Pās	Hadōrō
88 Down	Tar-hēli	Jimoni	Khatar
89 Far	Dur-hēli	Dār	Khadōr
90 Before	Rāmnē	Sambōr	Kūgč
91 Behind	Richhē	Pichwād	Nichhē
92 Who	Kaon	Kōn	Rōn
93 What	Kā	Kā	Ryā
94 Why	Kith-kō	Kai	Nō
95 And	Baur	Aur	Kor
96 But	Mul	Phurtu	
97 If		Tō	
98 Yes	Hā	Hō	Nē
99 No	Nāh	Nā	Mahī
100 Alas		Āy	Nahōs
101 A father	Bap-hēlē	Ekkan bāpō	Bēk khabāp
102 Of a father	Bap-hēlē-kū	Ekkan bāpō kū	Bēk khabāp rā
103 To a father	Bap-hēlē-kū	Ekkan bāpō ku	Bēk khabāp rō
104 From a father	Bap-hēlē sē	Ekkan bāpō se	Bēk khabāp-rē
105 Two fathers	Dubēlū bap-hēlē	Jauḍ bāpāū	Dhōr khabāp
106 Fathers	Bap-hēlē	Bāpāū	Chhūt khabāp

Qasıl	Sikalguri (Belgaum)		English
	Awar	Akhtal	
Ghād		Nikār	80 Come
Uṭnād		Khnbōthar	81 Beat
Bigar		Nikar	82 Stand
Kid		Gār	83 Die
Nhāt		Nikaṭ	84 Give
Uppar		Khuppar	85 Run
Najik		Kan	86 Up
Talle		Khēṭo	87 Near
Dār		Dār	88 Down
Simmō		Khāmō	89 Far
Pichcho		Pācho	90 Before
Kor		Kun	91 Behind
Krī		Su	92 Who.
Ki		Sakarwā	93 What.
Bhi		Sūlai	94 Why
L-kin		Pan	95 And
To		To	96 But
Hora		Ho	97 If
Naī		Naī	98 Yes
Ayyō		Ayy'yyō	99 No
Elkan baba		Ek yabo	100 Alas
Fllan bābā kū		Ek yabā nō	101 A father
Fllan babu-kū		Ek yabā nō	102 Of a father
Elkan bābā so		Ek yabā-to	103 To a father
Jand bābā		Bō yabā	104 From a father
Eabū		Yabu	105 Two fathers
			106 Fathers

English.	Ôđki (Cuteh)	Sēi (O-dinarv)	Sēi (Crunal)
107 Of fathers	Bāwā-chā	Bappā-gā	Bāpā-gā
108 To fathers	Bāwā-nē	Bappā-gū	Bāpā-gū . . .
109 From fathers	Bāwā-ti	Bappā-thō	Bāpā-thō .
110 A daughter	Dhū .	Dhī .	Bōri .
111 Of a daughter	Dhū-chā, dhū-chā, etc.	Dhī-gā .	Bōriā-gā .
112 To a daughter	Dhū-nē . .	Dhī-gū .	Bōriā-gū .
113 From a daughter	Dhū-ti .	Dhī-thō .	Bōriā-thō .
114 Two daughters	Dhū dhū . .	Dō dhī . . .	Dhōr bō-īā
115 Daughters	Dhūā	Dhī . .	Bō-īā . .
116 Of daughters	Dhūā-chā	Dhī-gā . .	Bōriā-gā
117 To daughters	Dhūā-nē	Dhī-gū . .	Bōriā-gū .
118 From daughters	Dhūā-ti .	Dhī-thō .	Bōriā-thō .
119 A good man	Sārā mānas .	Changā (or nāk) ādmi (or banda)	Chēngā kōdmi .
120 Of a good man	Sārā mānasā-chā	Changā ādmi-gā (or bandā-gā)	Chēngā kōdmi-gā .
121 To a good man	Sārā mānasā-nē .	Changā ādmi-gū .	Chēngā kōdmi-gū .
122 From a good man	Sārā mānasā-ti .	Changā ādmi-thō . .	Chēngā kōdmi-thō
123 Two good men	Dhū sārā mānasē .	Dō changā ādmi	Dhōr chēngā kōdmi .
124 Good men	Sārā mānasē .	Changā ādmi (or bandā)	Chēngā kōdmi .
125 Of good men	Sārā mānasā-chā	Changā ādmi-gā	Chēngā kōdmi-gā
126 To good men	Sārā mānasā-nē	Changā ādmi-gū .	Chēngā kōdmi-gū .
127 From good men	Sārā mānasā-ti .	Changā ādmi-thō	Chēngā kōdmi-thō
128 A good woman	Sārā bāpī .	Changī janāni .	Chēngī bāmi .
129 A bad boy	Nīkām chhōpā	Bhaurā māndā .	Nharā (or nharāb) bōrā
130 Good women	Sārā cārā	Changī janānī	Chēngī bāmi
131 A bad girl	Nīkām chhōpī .	Bhaurā māndī .	Nharā (or nharāb) bōrī
132 Good .	Sārā	Changā .	Chēngā . . .
133 Bad .	Wadārā sārā	[Is thō or is sathā] changā	[Is thō or is sathā] chēngā

Kōhlaŋi (Akola)	Garōḍi	Myanwale	English
Bāpte-kā	Bhāwutō kō . . .	Māwutō kō	107 Of fathers
Bāptō ūhō	Bhāwutō kū	Mawutō kū	108 To fathers
Bāptō-thō si	Bhāwutō si	Māwutō-si	109 From fathers
Chhōri	Ek mū lāwḍi	Khōk golpi	110 A daughter
Chhōri kū	Ek-mū lāwḍi kō	Khōk golpi kō	111 Of a daughter
Chhōri kū	Ek mō lāwḍi kū	Khōk golpi kū	112 To a daughter
Chhōri ūhō-si	Ek mū lāwḍi sō	Khōk golpi sō	113 From a daughter
Dhōr chhōriā	Dul mū lāwḍi	Dōg golpi	114 Two daughters
Chhōriā	Lāwḍi	Golpi	115 Daughters
Chhōriyā kū	Lāwḍi kō .	Golpi-kō	116 Of daughters.
Chhōriyā kū	Lāwḍi kū	Golpi-kū	117 To daughters
Chhō-iyā ūhō si	Lāwḍi sō .	Golpi sō	118 From daughters
Kōchchhū kōdmi	Ek mō chisam khadmi	Khōk khāchō khādmi	119 A good man.
Kōchchhū kōdmiyā kō	Ek mō chisam khadmi kō	Khōk khāchō khādmi kō	120 Of a good man
Kōchchhū kōdmiyā kū	Ek mū chisam khadmi kū	Khōk khāchō khadmi kū	121 To a good man
Kōchchhū kōdmiyā ūhō si	Ek mū chisam khadmi sō	Khōk khāchō khādmi sō	122 From a good man
Dhōr bhālē kōdmi	Dul-mū chisam khadmi	Dōg khāchō khādmi	123 Two good men
Bhālē kōdmi	Chisam khadmi	Khāchō khādmi	124 Good men
Bhālē kōdmiyā kō	Chisam khadmi kō	Khāchō khādmi-kō	125 Of good men
Bhālē kōdmiyā kū	Chisam khadmi-kū	Khāchō khādmi-kū	126 To good men
Bhālē kōdmiyā ūhō si	Chisam khadmi sō	Khāchō khādmi sō	127 From good men.
Hēṭṭi lōsal	Ek mū chisam kāyi	Khōk nūri dāmī	128 A good woman
Burū chhōrā	Ek mū bilōḍ lāwḍō	Khōk sugāḍō golo	129 A bad boy
Kōsal hēṭṭiyā	Chisam kāji	Nūri dāmī	130 Good women
Burī kajeti	Ek mū bilōḍ lāwḍi	Khōk sugāyi gōli	131 A bad girl
Kōsal, achchhu	Chisam	Khāchō	132 Good
Achchhu	Isti chisam	Wā sō-bi khāchō	133 Better

English	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Vatī (State Rampur)
107 Of fathers	Bap-hālū kā	Bapāū kā	Khabāpō rī
108 To fathers	Bap hēla kā	Bāpāū-ku	Khabāpō-rō
109 From fathers	Bap-hālū sō	Bapāū-se	Khabāpō-rō
110 A daughter	Chūbki	Ekkan baidi	Bek bōri
111 Of a daughter	Chūbki kā	Ekkan baidi kā	Bek bōri rī
112 To a daughter	Chūbki kū	Ekkan baidi-ku	Bek bōri rō
113 From a daughter	Chūbki-sō	Ekkan baidi so	Bek bōri ru
114 Two daughters	Dubēlā chūbki	Jand baidō	Dhōr bōryā
115 Daughters	Chūbki	Baidō	Chhūt bōryā
116 Of daughters	Chūbki kū	Baidō-kā	Bōryō rī
117 To daughters	Chūbki kū	Baidō ku	Bōryō-rō
118 From daughters	Chūbki sō	Baidō se	Bōryō-rī
119 A good man	Khachchhō najāū	Ekkan nirō kājarō	Bek kuchchhā kūdmi
120 Of a good man	Khachchhō najāū kā	Ekkan nirō kājarō-kā	Bek kuchchhā kūdmi rā
121 To a good man	Khachchhō najāū-kū	Ekkan nirō kājarō-ku	Bek kuchchhā kūdmi-rō
122 From a good man	Khachchhō najāū sō	Ekkan nirō kājarō-so	Bek kuchchhā kūdmi rī
123 Two good men	Dubēlā khachchhō najāū	Jandō nirō kājarā	Dhōr kuchchhā kūdmi
124 Good men	Khachchhō najāū	Nirō kājarā	Chhūt kuchchhā kūdmi
125 Of good men	Khachchhō najāū-kā	Nirō kājarā kā	Kuchchhā kūdmyō-rī
126 To good men	Khachchhō najāū-kū	Nirō kājarā-ku	Kuchchhā kūdmyō-rō
127 From good men	Khachchhō najāū-sō	Nirō kājarā se	Kuchchhā kūdmyō-rō
128 A good woman	Khachchhi najai	Ekkan niri kājari	Bek kuchchhā khēr
129 A bad boy	Dharāb chūbki	Ekkan kargāl baidō	Bek rarāb bōri
130 Good women	Khachchhi najai	Niri kājarō	Kuchchhā khēryā
131 A bad girl	Dharāb chūbki	Ekkan kargāl baidi	Bek rarāb bōri
132 Good	Khachchhō	Nirō	Kuchchhā
133 Better		Us-dō nirō	Chhūt kuchchhā

Qand	Sikalgarl (Belgaum)	English
Rikā ka	Yabā-nō	107 Of fathers
Ribī kā	Yabā nō	108 To fathers
Fabā se	Yabā tō	109 From fathers
Ikkan kach h	Fk dikari	110 A daughter
Fekkan kacheli kā	Fk dikari-nō	111 Of a daughter
Fekkan kach h lā	Fk dikari nō	112 To a daughter
Ikkan kach h tō	Fk dikari tō	113 From a daughter
Ikkan kach h	Bō dikariva	114 Two daughters
Kach h	Dikarivā	115 Daughters
Kach h nō	Dikariva nō	116 Of daughters
Kach h lā	Dikarivā nō	117 To daughters
Kach h tō	Dikarivā-tō	118 From daughters
Fekkan bit subākdā	Fk chokā manekh	119 A good man.
Fekkan bit subākdā nō	Fk chokā manekh nō	120 Of a good man
Fekkan bit subākdā lā	Fk chokā manekh nō	121 To a good man
Fekkan bit subākdā tō	Fk chokā manekh tō	122 From a good man
Ikkan bit subākdā	Bō chokā mankhō	123 Two good men
Bit subākdā	Chokā mankhō	124 Good men
Bit subākdā nō	Chokā mankhō nō	125 Of good men
Bit subākdā lā	Chokā mankhō nō	126 To good men
Bit subākdā tō	Chokā mankhō-tō	127 From good men.
Ikkan bit subākdā	Fk chokā baykō	128 A good woman
Fekkan hajib chhōra or chhanaka	Fk khattar chhōknō	129 A bad boy
Bit subākdā	Chokiyā bākdīyō	130 Good women
Fekkan hajib chhōra or chhanaki	Fk khattar chhōknā	131 A bad girl
Bit	Chokō	132 Good
Itti bit	Isti chokō	133 Better

English	Ódki (Catch)	Sĕsi (Ordinary)	Sĕsi (Criminal)
134 Best	Badhũ-ti surũ	[Sabhũ sathũ] chatũ	[Sabhũ sathũ] chōngũ
135 High	Ūchũ	Uchchũ	Khuchchũ
136 Higher	Wadhũrō ūchũ	[Is thō] uchchũ	[Is thō] khuchchũ
137 Highest	Badhũ thi ūchũ	[Sabhũ sathũ] uchchũ	[Sabhũ sathũ] khuchchũ
138 A horse	Gōrũ, (hisanũ)	Ghōrũ	Kōdrũ
139 A mare	Gōrĩ, (hisanĩ)	Ghōrĩ	Kōdrĩ
140 Horses	Gōrē	Ghōrō	Kōdrō
141 Mares	Gōrā	Ghōrā	Kōdrā
142 A bull	Gōdhũ, dhagũ	Dhagũ	Kangũ
143 A cow	Gāy	Gā	Lālsĩ
144 Bulls	Gōdhē, dhagē	Dhaggō	Kangũ
145 Cows	Gauũ	Gaĩ	Lālsĩ
146 A dog	Kutĩ	Kūtĩ	Bhũkal
147 A bitch	Kutĩ	Kutĩ	Bhũkal
148 Dogs	Kutē	Kūtō	Bhũkal
149 Bitches	Kutā	Kutā	Bhũkal
150 A he goat	Bakrũ	Bakrũ	Chhũbrũ
151 A female goat	Bakrĩ	Bakrĩ	Chhũbrĩ
152 Goats	Bakrē	Bakrō	Chhũbrō
153 A male deer	Hēn	Harn	Harn
154 A female deer	Hēnĩ	Harnĩ	Harnĩ
155 Deer	Hēn	Harn	Harn
156 I am	Hē sē	Haũ haĩ	Haũ hōpō
157 Thou art	Tĩ si	Taũ haĩ	Taũ hōpō
158 He is	Sĩ sō	Uh haĩ	Bah hōpō
159 We are	Amĩ sũ	Ham hũ	Ham hōpō
160 You are	Tamĩ sawā	Tam hō	Tam hōpō

Kallaḥ (Aka'a)	GāradL	Myunwalē	Engl
Achehā	Dihl churam	Nabaḥ si khāchō	1 Best
Khuchehā	Khuchehō	Khunehō	2 High
	Isti khuchehō	Wā sō bi khunchō	3 Higher
Rhā	Dihl khuchehō	Nabale si khunehō	4 Highest
Rhāḥi	I k mā ghōrtō	Khēk ghōḥohō	5 A horse
Rhāḥi	I k mā ghōrti	Khēk ghōḥehi	6 A mare
Rhāḥi	Ghōrt	Ghōḥohō	7 Horses
B	Ghōrti	Ghōḥohi	8 Mares
Rav	I k mā k'wāḥ	Khēk nōl	9 A hull
Rh	I k mā k'wāi	Khēk gūyi	10 A con
k'wāi	k'wāi	Nel	11 Bulls
Dhāḥal	k'wāi	Gāyi	12 Cows
Rhā	I mā d'ghugā	Khēk jukēlā	13 A dog
Dhāḥal	I k mā d'ghugā	Khēk jukēhi	14 A bitch
Rhāḥi	D'ghugā	Jukēḥ	15 Dogs
Nāḥad	D'ghugā	Jukēhi	16 Bitches
Nāḥad	I k mā n'mnā	Khēk nōkādā	17 A ho goat.
Nāḥad	I k mā n'mnā	Khēk ruohali	18 A female goat.
Rait khāran	R mnā	Nōkadō	19 Goats
Khāran	Nar harḥi	Khēk qbāḥiḥi khāran	20 A male deer
Khāran	Nāḥi harḥi	Khēk nāḥi khāran	21 A female deer
Hā h	Harḥi	Khāran	22 Deer
Tā h	Mi hapelā	Mō hū	23 I am.
Ō h	Tā hapelā	Tā hū	24 Thou art
Ham h	Wō hapelā	Ō hū	25 He is
Tam h	Ham hapelā	Hamō hū	26 We are
	Tum hapelā	Tamō hū	27 You are

English	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Hojmann)	Naṭī (State of anpur)
134 Best		Byāṇṭik ntrō,	Rab-iv kucheḷihū
135 High	Khūñchō	Khuñchō	Khūchū
136 Higher		Us dē khūñchō	Chhūṭ l hōchā
137 Highest		Byāṇṭik khūñchō	Rab-iv khūchā
138 A horse	Ghurārō	Ekkan ghōḍō	Bek ruharchā
139 A mare	Ghurārī	Ekkan ghōḍī	Bek ruharchī
140 Horses	Rahut ghurārō	Ghōḍā	Ruharchō
141 Mares	Rahut ghurārī	Ghōḍī	Ruharchivā
142 A bull	Sāṛ hōlo	Ekkan padō	Bek lōd
143 A cow	Nāḍli	Ekkan gāvō	Bek tivārgī rā
144 Bulls		Pāḍā	Nāḍ
145 Cows		Gāvō	Tiyargī rāḍ
146 A dog	Jhūṅkī	Ekkan kutṭō	Bek chhumkar
147 A bitch	Jhūṅkī	Ekkan kutṭī	Bek chhumkarī
148 Dogs		Kutṭā	Chhūṭ chhumkar
149 Bitches		Kutṭī	Chhūṭ chhumkariyā
150 A he goat	Rakrā	Ekkan bakarō	Bek chakrā
151 A female goat	Rakrī	Ekkan bakarī	Bek chakrī
152 Goats	Rakrā	Bakarū	Chakriyā
153 A male deer	Khurn	Ekkan harn	Kharan
154 A female deer	Khurnī	Ekkan harnī	Kharanī
155 Deer	Khurn	Harnō	Chhūṭ kharan
156 I am	Maĩ hughū	Maĩ hō	Khō rō
157 Thou art	Taĩ hughē	Yō hō	Khanṭ hōchō
158 He is	Wō haughō	Ḥ hō	Woh hōchō
159 We are	Ham haughō, maĩ hughū	Hamō hē	Kham hōchō
160 You are	Taĩ hughō	Tumō hē	Nam hōchō

Qasāl	Sikalguri (Belgaum)	English
Sab se sōbit	Ghanō chōkō	134 Best
Unchā	Uchchō	135 High
Isti unchā	Isti uchchō	136 Higher
Sab-se unchā	Ghanō uchchō	137 Highest
Ekkan ghōḍā	Ek chhumnō	138 A horse
Ekkan ghōḍī	Ek chhumni	139 A mare
Ghōḍō	Chhumnā	140 Horses.
Ghōḍiyā	Chhumniyō	141 Mares
Ekkan pādū	Ek pādō	142 A bull
Ekkan bhakkār	Ek gāyḍī	143 A cow
Pādū	Paḍā	144 Bulls
Bhakkārā	Gāyḍiyō	145 Cows
Ekkan kutṭā	Ek kutrō	146 A dog
Ekkan kutṭī	Ek kutrī	147 A bitch
Kutṭe	Kutrā	148 Dogs
Kutṭiyā	Kutriyō	149 Bitches
Ekkan bakārā	Ek bakrō	150 A he goat.
Ekkan chhēlī	Ek bakrī	151 A female goat.
Bakārō	Bakra	152 Goats
Ekkan nar harap	Ek harpō	153 A male deer
Ekkan mādi haran	Ek harnī	154 A female deer
Harapā	Harpā	155 Deer
Maī thārtaū	Mī ohhō	156 I am.
Tū thārtaū	Tā chhē	157 Thou art
Une thārtaū	Tō chhē	158 He is
Ham thārte	Ham chhō	159 We are
Tume thārte	Tum chhō	160 You are

English	Ôdki (Catch)	Sñai (Ordinary)	Sñai (Criminal)
161 They are	Sñ si	Uh haĩ	Buh hõpe .
162 I was	Hẽ silã	Haũ thiyyn (or siyya, etc)	Haũ thiyyn (or siyya, etc)
163 Thou wast	Tñ sila	Taũ thiyyn	Taũ thiyyn
164 He was	Sũ sila	Uh thiyyn .	Buh thiyyn .
165 We were	Amĩ silč	Ham thiyõ	Ham thiyõ
166 You were	Tamĩ silč	Tam thiyõ .	Tam thiyõ
167 They were	Sã silč	Uh thiyõ	Buh thiyõ
168 Be .	Hõ	Hõ (sing), hõwõ (plur)	Hõp, hõpõ
169 To be	Hõnẽ	Hõnã	Hõpnã
170 Being	Hõta	Hõtã	Hõptã
171 Having been	Hõtinẽ	Hõtke	Hõpt ke
172 I may be	Hẽ hawẽ	Haũ hõwẽ	Haũ hõpẽ
173 I shall be	Hẽ havĩ, hẽ havĩnõ	Haũ hongrũ	Hõpnahgrũ
174 I should be	Machẽ halẽ khapõ	Haũ hotã	Hõptã
175 Bent	Mãr	Mãr, mãrõ .	Lõ, lõõ
176 To bent	Mãynẽ	Mãrpã	Lõnã
177 Beating	Mãrti	Mãrtã	Lõtã
178 Having beaten	Mãrtinẽ	Mãrtke	Lõtkc
179 I beat	Hẽ mãrẽ sč	Haũ mãrtã haĩ	Haũ lotã hõpõ
180 Thou beatest	Tñ mãri si	Taũ mãrtã haĩ	Taũ lotã hõpõ
181 He beats	Sõ mãrẽ sč	Uh mãrtã hai	Buh lotã hõpõ
182 We beat	Amĩ mãrĩ sũ	Ham mãrtõ hũ	Ham lotõ hõpõ
183 You beat	Tamĩ mãrã sawẽ	Tam mãrtõ hõ	Tam lotõ hõpõ
184 They beat .	Sũ mãri si	Uh mãrte haĩ	Buh lotõ hõpõ
185 I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Mč mãrlẽ	Maĩ mãria	Maĩ lõyã
186 Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tč mãrlã	Taĩ mãria	Taĩ lõyã
187 He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tčnẽ mãrla	Un mãria	Bup lõyã

Kolhātī (Akola)	Garōḍī	Myanwale	English.
Vò hē	Yē hāpelā	Vē hū	01 They are
Hū thiyā	Mī chhō	Mē hi	32 I was
Tū thiyā	Tā chhō	Tā hi	33 Thon wast.
Ō thivā	Wō chhō	Ū hi	34 He was
Ham thiyō	Ham chhō	Hamē hi	65 We were
Tam thiyō	Tum chhō	Tumē hi	66 You were
Vē thiyō	Yē chhō	Vē hi	67 They were
Hō	Rhapel	Rhē	68 Be
Hōnā	Rhapel nē lō	Rhēnēkā	69 To be
Hōtā	Rhapel tō	Rhētā	70 Being
Huwā hō	Rhapelēsō	Rhōkē	71 Having been
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungā	Mē rhaungā	72 I may be
Hū hōngdā	Mī rhapelungō	Mē rhaungō	73 I shall be
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungōch	Mē rhenēkā hōnā	74 I should be
Mār	Lugā	Lōt	175 Beat
Mārōnā	Lugānkā	Lōtnēkā	176 To beat.
Mārtā	Lugātō	Lōttē	177 Beating
Māryā hō	Lugāko	Lōt lō	178 Having beaten
Hū mārtā	Mī lugāñ	Mē lōtā	179 I beat
Tū mārtā	Tā lugāñ	Tā lōtā	180 Thon beatest
Ō mārtā	Wō lugāñ	Ū lōtā	181 He beats
Ham mārtē	Ham lugāñ	Hamō lōtā	182 We beat.
Tam mārtē	Tum lugāñ	Tumē lōtā	183 You beat
Vē mārtē	Yē lugāñ	Vō lōtu	184 They beat
Mē nē māryā	Mī lugāyō	Mē lōto	185 I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tē nē māryā	Tā lugāyō	Tā lōto	186 Thuu beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Un nē māryā	Wō lugāyō	Ū lōto	187 He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)

English	Kanjarī (Sitapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Natī (State Rampur)
161 They are	Wə haughə .	Ō hē	Wə hōchē
162 I was	Maĩ hūdo	Maĩ hando .	Khō nō .
163 Thou wast .	Taĩ hūdo	Yo hando	Khanĩ hōchā
164 He was	Wə hūdo	Ē hando	Woh hōchā
165 We were		Hamō handā	Kham nō
166 You were		Tumō handā	Num nō .
167 They were		Ō handā	Wō nō
168 Be .		Huyāngō .	Hō
169 To be		Hōwaka	Hōpnā
170 Being		Hōndo	Hōtc huō
171 Having been		Hōwar-kō	Hōkar
172. I may be	Maĩ hūghasō .	Maĩ hōwungō	Hōgō kē khō rō
173 I shall be	Maĩ hūghasō .	Maĩ hōwungō	Khō rōga
174 I should be		Maĩ hōnōch	Mh-kō hōpnā chāhuy
175 Beat	Lugaĩ	Kutwār	Lōthō
176 To beat	Lugaodirō	Kuṭwāiku	Lōthūā
177 Beating	Lugaōdō	Kuṭwārde	Lōthtō huō
178 Having beaten	Lugao kō	Kutwār-kō	Lōth-kar
179 I beat	Maĩ lugairō	Maĩ kuṭwāio	Khō lōthtā rō
180 Thou beatest	Taĩ lugairō .	Yo kuṭwārō	Tā lōthtā hai
181 He beats	Wə lugairō	Ē kuṭwārō	Woh lōthtā hai
182 We beat		Hamō kuṭwārō	Kham lōthtō hōchē
183 You beat		Tumō kuṭwārō	Num lōthtō hō
184 They beat .		Ō kuṭwārō	Wō lōthtō hōchē
185 I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Maĩ lugaōdō	Maĩ kutrō	Khō-nō lōthā
186 Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taĩ lugaoghus	Yo kuṭrō	Num nō lōthā
187 He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Wə lugaoghus, lugais	Ē kuṭrō	Us nō lōthā

Q. 11		Sikalgari (Belgaum)	English.
Uno thurti		Tō chhō	161 They are
Mañ thurti thā		Mi hotō	162 I was
Tā thurti thā		Tā hotō	163 Thou wast
Unc thurti thā		Tō hotō	164 He was
Ham thurti the		Ham hotō	165 We were
Tume thurti the		Tum hotō	166 You were
Uno thurti the		Tc hata	167 They were
Thak		Tl ni	168 Be
Thak lu		Thawānō	169 To be
Thak ta		Thawōtō	170 Being
Thak lo		Thame	171 Having been
Mañ thakunā		Mi thaungā	172 I may be
Mañ thakunā		Mi thaungō	173 I shall be
Mañ thak ni		Mi thauch	174 I should be
Ghād		Nikān	175 Bent.
Ghād lu		Nikārwānō	176 To bent
Ghād ta		Nikārtō	177 Bending
Ghād lo		Nikārtō	178 Having benten
Mañ ghādtāñ		Nikārtō	179 I bent.
Tā ghādtāñ		Mi nikārō	180 Thou beatest.
Unc ghādtāñ		Tā nikār	181 He beats
Ham ghādto		Tō nikār	182 We beat.
Tume ghādto		Ham nikārō	183 You beat
Uno ghādto		Tum nikār	184 They beat.
Mañ ghādyā		Tō nikār	185 I beat (Past Tense)
Tā ghādyā		Mi nikāryō	186 Thou beatest (Past Tense)
Unc ghādyā		Tā nikāryō	187 He beat (Past Tense)
		Tō nikāryō	

English	Oddi (Cutch)	Sāsi (Ordinary)	Sāsi (Ordinary)
188 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Amī mārū .	Hamō mārū	Hamō hōva .
189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tamī marū .	Tamō marū .	Tamō hōva .
190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taiyō marū .	Uai unō mārū	Bauī unō hōva .
191 I am beating .	Hē marē sē	Haū piū mārū haī or haū marū rihā haī	Haū lōa hōp haū lōa rihā hōp
192 I was beating	Hē marē silā .	Haū marā thiyā (or silyā)	Haū lōa thiyā
193 I had beaten	Vē mārū sila	Maī marā thiyā (or silyā)	Maī hōva thiyā
194 I may beat	Hē marē .	Haū mārō	Haū lōa
195 I shall beat	Hē marī	Haū mārāhōp	Haū lōahōp .
196 Thou wilt beat	Tū mārī .	Taū mārāhōp	Taū lōahōp .
197 He will beat .	Sū marī	Uh mārāhōp	Buh lōahōp
198 We shall beat	Amī marū	Ham mārāhōp	Ham lōahōp
199 You will beat	Tamī mārū	Tam mārāhōp	Tam lōahōp
200 They will beat	Sū marī	Uh mārāhōp .	Buh lōahōp
201 I should beat	Mūchō marū khapō	Haū marā	Haū lōa
202 I am beaten	Hē marā sē	Haū mārā jattā haī	Haū hōvā jastā hōp
203 I was beaten	Hē marā sila .	Haū marā jattā thiyā (or silyā)	Haū hōvā jastā thiyā (or silyā)
204 I shall be beaten	Hē marēē	Haū marā jangra	Haū hōvā jastāhōp
205 I go	Hē jā sē	Haū jattā haī	Haū jastā hōp
206 Thou goest	Tū jā sī	Taū jattā haī	Taū jastā hōp
207 He goes	Sū jā sē	Uh jattā haī	Buh jastā hōp
208 We go	Amī jāū sū	Ham jattā hū	Ham jastā hōp
209 You go	Tamī jāwā sawā	Tam jattā hō	Tam jastā hōp
210 They go	Sū jā sī	Uh jattā haī	Buh jastā hōp
211 I went	Hē gēlā	Haū gavā (<i>pronounced gēā</i>)	Haū gangā (or jastā)
212 Thou wentest	Tū gēlā	Taū gayā	Taū gangā (or jastā)
213 He went	Ō gēlā	Uh gayā	Buh gangā (or jastā)
214 We went	Amī gēlā	Ham gā	Ham gangā (jastā)

Kulhaṭī (Akola)	Gāndhī	Myānwaler	English
Ham nē mīryā	Ham lugāṇō	Hamō lōtō	188 Wo beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tum ne mārjā	Tum lugāṇō	Tumō lōtō	189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Unh nē mīryā	Yō lugāṇō	Vō lōtō	190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Hū mārṭā hē	Mi lugāṇō hapela	Mō lōtā hū	191 I am beating
Hū mārṭā thiv	Mi lugāṇō chhō	Mō lōtā hī	192 I was beating
Mē-nō mārjā thivā	Mi lugā chhō	Mō lōtōtō	193 I had beaten
Mi nī mārjā	Mi lugāwungō	Mō lōtungō	194 I may beat
Hū mārjā	Mi lugāwungō	Mō lōtungō	195 I shall beat
Tu mārjā	Tā lugāwungō	Tū lōtungō	196 Thou wilt beat
Wō mārjā	Wō lugāwungō	Ū lōtungō	197 He will beat
Ham mārjā	Ham lugāwungō	Hamō lōtungō	198 We shall beat
Tum mārjā	Tum lugāwungō	Tumō lōtungō	199 You will beat
Vō mārjā	Yō lugāwungō	Vō lōtungō	200 They will beat
Mō ne mārjā	Mi lugāṇōkōch	Mō lōtōkō hōnō	201 I should beat
Mu kn mārjā	Mi lugāṇō bōtē hapela	Mō lōt dātī hū	202 I am beaten
Mu kn mārjā thivā	Mi lugāṇō bōtē-chhō	Mō lōt dātī hī	203 I was beaten
Mu kn mārjā	Mi lugāṇō bōtō	Mō lōt dātungō	204 I shall be beaten
Hū jūtā	Mi dzhāyilā	Mō hīṭā	205 I go
Tu jūtā	Tā dzhāyilā	Tā hīṭā	206 Thou goest
O jūtā	Wō dzhāyilā	Ū hīṭā	207 He goes
Ham jūtā	Ham dzhāyilā	Hamō hīṭō	208 We go
Tam jūtā	Tam dzhāyilā	Tumō hīṭā	209 You go
Vō jūtā	Yō dzhāyilā	Vō hīṭā	210 They go
Hū gayā	Mi ghayilyō	Mō hīṭō	211 I went
Tu gayā	Tā ghayilyō	Tā hīṭō	212 Thou wentest
O gayā	Wō ghayilyō	Ū hīṭō	213 He went
Ham gayō	Ham ghayilyō	Hamō hīṭō	214 We went

English	Ódki (Cutch)	Հայ (Orshany)	Հայ (Orshany)
188 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Amĩ mārũ .	Hamĩ mārũ .	Hamĩ ləva .
189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tamĩ mārũ	Tamĩ mārũ .	Tamĩ ləva
190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taĩyē mārũ	Uũ anē mārũ	Buũ anē ləva
191 I am beating .	Hē marē sē	Haũ pu mārē haĩ, or haũ mārē rihā haĩ	Haũ ləva hōpē haũ ləv rihā hōpē
192 I was beating	Hē marē silā .	Haũ marā thivya (or siva)	Haũ ləv thivya
193 I had beaten	Mē mārē silā	Maĩ marā thivya (or siva)	Maĩ ləva thivya
194 I may beat	Hē mārē .	Haũ mārē	Haũ lē
195 I shall beat	Hē marē	Haũ marangē	Haũ ləngē
196 Thou wilt beat	Tũ mārē	Taũ marangē	Taũ ləngē
197 He will beat	Sũ mārē	Uh marangē	Buũ ləngē
198 We shall beat	Amĩ mārē	Ham marangē	Ham ləngē
199 You will beat	Tamĩ mārē	Tam marangē	Tam ləngē
200 They will beat	Sũ mārē	Uh marangē	Buũ ləngē
201 I should beat	Mūchē mānē khapē	Haũ marā	Haũ ləv
202 I am beaten	Hē marā sē	Haũ mārā jattā haĩ	Haũ ləv jartā hōpē
203 I was beaten	Hē marā silā	Haũ marā jattā thivya (or siva)	Haũ ləv jartā thivya (or siva)
204 I shall be beaten	Hē marē	Haũ mārā jangē	Haũ ləva jangē
205 I go	Hē jū sē	Haũ jattā haĩ	Haũ jartā hōpē
206 Thou goest	Tũ jū sē	Taũ jattā haĩ	Taũ jartā hōpē
207 He goes	Sũ jū sē	Uh jattā haĩ	Buũ jartā hōpē
208 We go	Amĩ jū sē	Ham jattē hũ	Ham jartē hōpē
209 You go	Tamĩ jūwā sawā	Tam jattē hō	Tam jartē hōpē
210 They go .	Sũ jū sē	Uh jattē haĩ	Buũ jartē hōpē
211 I went	Hē gēla	Haũ gaya (pronounced gēla)	Haũ ganga (or jartā)
212 Thou wentest	Tũ gēla	Taũ gaya	Taũ gangā (or jartā)
213 He went	Ō gēla	Uh gaya	Buũ ganga (or jartā)
214 We went	Amĩ gēla	Ham gā	Ham gangē (jartē)

Kolhu(I) (Akola)	Garodī	Myanwale,	English
Ham-nē māryā	Ham lugayō	Hamē lōtō	186 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tam nē māryā	Tam lugāyō	Tumē lōtō	189 You bent (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Unh nē māryā	Yō lugāyō	Vē lōtō	190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Hū mārta hō	Mī lugātō hapelā	Mē lōtā hū	191 I am beating
Hū martā thivā	Mī lugātō chhō	Mē lōtā hī	192 I was beating
Mē-nē māryā thivā	Mī lugā chhō	Mē lōtōtō	193 I had beaten
Mō-nē mārṇā	Mī lugāwungā	Mē lōtungā	194 I may beat
Hū marang	Mī lugāwungō	Mē lōtungō	195 I shall beat
Tu mārang	Tā lugāwungō	Tū lōtungō	196 Thou wilt beat.
Wō marang	Wō lugāwungō	Ū lōtungō	197 He will beat
Ham marang	Ham lugāwungō	Hamē lōtungō	198 We shall beat
Tam mārang	Tam lugāwungō	Tumē lōtungō	199 You will beat.
Vē marang	Yē lugāwungō	Vē lōtungō	200 They will beat
Mō nē mārṇā	Mī lugāuṣṣāch	Mē lōtṣṣkā hōpā	201 I should beat
Mu ku māryā .	Mī lugāḍ bōtō-hapelā	Mē lōt datī hū	202 I am beaten
Mu-ku māryā thivā	Mī lugāḍ bōtō-chhō	Mē lōt datī hī	203 I was beaten
Mu ku mārang	Mī lugāḍ bōtungō	Mē lōt datungō	204 I shall be beaten
Hū jātā	Mī dzhayilā	Mē hūṭā	205 I go
Tu jātā	Tā dzhayilā	Tā hūṭā	206 Thou goest
Ō jātā	Wō dzhayilā	Ū hūṭā	207 He goes
Ham jātō	Ham dzhayilu	Hamē hūṭō	208 We go
Tam jātō	Tam dzhayilā	Tumē hūṭā	209 You go
Vē jātō	Yē dzhayilā	Vē hūṭā	210 They go
Hū gayā	Mī ghayilyō	Mē hitō	211 I went
Tu gayā	Tā ghayilyō	Tā hitō	212 Thou wentest
Ō gayā	Wō ghayilyō	Ū hitō	213 He went
Ham gayō	Ham ghayilyō	Hamē hitō	214 We went.

English	Kanjarī (Bilapur)	Kanjarī (Bakam)	Natl (St to Lampur)
188 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)		Hamē kuṭrā	Kham ne lōthā
189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)		Tumō kuṭrā	Num n' lōthā
190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)		Ō kuṭrā	Unhō ne lōthā
191 I am beating	Maĩ lugauro	Maĩ kuddū hē	Khū lōthā rō
192 I was beating	Maĩ lugaōdō	Maĩ kuddō haudō	Khū lōth rahā thā
193 I had beaten	Maĩ lugaighurō, maĩ lugauro	Maĩ kuṭrōdā	Khū n lōthā thā
194 I may beat		Maĩ kuṭungō	Hōgō kē khū lōthē
195 I shall beat	Maĩ lugaosū, maĩ lugaoghasi	Maĩ kuṭungā	Khū lōthōgā
196 Thou wilt beat	Taĩ lugaoghasi	Yō kuṭungō	Khaun lōthē rā
197 He will beat	Birō lugaoghasi	Ē kuṭungō	Woh lōthērā
198 We shall beat		Hamē kuṭungā	Kham lōthērō
199 You will beat		Tumē kuṭungā	Num lōthērō
200 They will beat		Ō kuṭungā	Wē lōthērō
201 I should beat	Maĩ lugaoghasū	Maĩ kuṭwārā kē hōnō	Mugh kō lōthnā chahivō
202 I am beaten	Maĩ lugauro gaoghurō	Maĩ kuṭwār lino	Khū lōthā gavā rō
203 I was beaten	Maĩ lugauro gaoghurō thō	Maĩ kuṭwār-gau	Khū lōthā gavā thā
204 I shall be beaten	Maĩ lugauro gaoghasū	Maĩ kuṭwār lēw uagō	Khū lōthā jāṁgā
205 I go	Maĩ jaoghado	Maĩ nikharungō	Khū jāsurtā
206 Thou goest	Taĩ jaoghasi	Yō nikharungō	Nū jāsurtā hai
207 He goes	Wō jaoghasi	Ē nikharungō	Woh jāsurtā hai
208 We go		Hamō nikhardai	Kham jāsurtē hōchē
209 You go		Tumō nikhardai	Num jāsurtē hō
210 They go		Ō nikhardai	Wē jāsurtē hōchē
211 I went	Maĩ jaoghurō	Maĩ gawō	Khū gavā
212 Thou wentest	Taĩ jaoghurō	Yō gawō	Nū gayā
213 He went	Wō jaoghurō	Ē gawō	Woh gayā
214 We went		Hamō gawā	Kham gavō

Qasul	Sikalgarī (Belgaum)	English
Ham ghādyā	Ham mākāryō	186 We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Tumo ghādyā	Tum mākāryō	189 You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Uno ghādyā	Tē mākāryō	190 They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)
Mnī ghādīa bai	Mī mākārtāū	191 I am beating
Maī ghādīa hatta	Mī mākārtōtō	192 I was beating
Maī ghādīyātū	Mī mākāryōtō	193 I had beaten.
Maī ghādengā	Mī mākārūngā	194 I may beat
Maī ghādunga	Mī mākārūngō	195 I shall beat
Tū ghādunga	Tū mākārūngō	196 Thou wilt beat.
Une ghādungā	Tō mākārūngō	197 He will beat
Ham ghādungā	Ham mākārūngō	198 We shall beat.
Tumo ghādungā	Tum mākārūngō	199 You will beat
Uno ghādungā	Tē mākārūngō	200 They will beat
Maī ghādūā	Mī mākārūngō	201 I should beat
Maī ghādī khaū	Mī mākārūngō	202 I am beaten
Maī ghādī khaūyā	Mī mākārūngō	203 I was beaten.
Maī ghādī khaungā	Mī mākārūngō	204 I shall be beaten
Maī khāwntāū	Mī jākan	205 I go
Tū khāwntāū	Tū jākan	206 Thou goest
Une khāwntāū	Tō jākan	207 He goes
Hm khāwate	Ham jākan	208 We go
Tume khāwnte	Tum jākan	209 You go
Uno khāwnte	Tē jākan	210 They go
Mnī khāhuwa	Mī gāknyō	211 I went
Tū khāhuwa	Tū gāknyō	212 Thou wentest
Uno khāhuwā	Tō gāknyō	213 He went
Ham khāhuwā	Ham gāknyō	214 We went

English	Odḱi (Cutch)	ꣳḱḱi (Ordnary)	ꣳḱḱi (Criminal)
215 You went	Tamĩ gēlō	Tam gnō	Tam gaugō (jās-rō)
216 They went	Sū gēlō	Uh gnō	Buh gaugō (jās-rō)
217 Go	Jā	Ja, jaō	Jasr, jasrō
218 Going	Jutā	Jattā	Jasrtā
219 Gone	Gēlū	Gavu	Gaugī jāsrtā
220 What is your name ?	Tam chō nām kāy ?	Tuhārā nā kya hai ?	Tuhārgī nāūḱha kvā hōpō ?
221 How old is this horse ?	Hā gōrī kawpīk sē ?	Is ghōrē kya 'umr hai ?	Bis kādīr gi kvā khumr hōpō ?
222 How far is it from hero to Kashmir ?	Kashmir nḱhō ti kitrik chhētē sē ?	Ēthō Kashmirā tāī kinri dūr hai ?	Bethō Kashmirā tāī kitri khadūr hōpō ?
223 How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam chō bā chō gharī mā lētrēk pūt ai ?	Tuhārō kappī-gō gharā bich kitnō pūt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāpō gō khaulē kitnō bōrā hōpō ?
224 I have walked a long way to day	Āj mō lāmbī path karī sē	Ājj haū bapī dū turiā	Kōjj haū jādī khadūr nuriā
225 The son of my uncle is married to his sister	Māchō kākō-chū pūt tē-chō bānī-nē pēnlū sē	Mōrō kākō-gū pūt nskū kīnā sāth biabī hōū hai	Mōrgō kākō gā bōrā buskīa (or kharpiā) dhabāna nith chhūbūm hōpiā hōpē
226 In the house is the saddle of the white horse	Gharā mā dhōrō gōrē-chū kāthū sē	Baggō ghōrē-gi kāthī gharā bich hai	Dhabaggō kādū-gi nūthī khaulē bich hōpē
227 Put the saddle upon his back.	Tō chī pathā māthō kāthā māḱā.	Kāthī nskū pitḱhā par bābō	Nāthī buskīa mīḱhā khōpar dāwō
228 I have beaten his son with mauv stripes	Mō tē-chō pūtā-nē ghanō phaḱhō mārē sī	Māī nskō pūtā gū bapō kōḱlē (bānt or sōḱ) mārē	Māī buskō bōrō gū jadu nōtlō (nhot) lō
229 He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū dūgrā māthō chōpō charārē sē	Uh pahārī giā chōḱḱā uppar dhangr chngūta hai	Bah pahārī glī nōḱḱā khōpar khadlangar nūḱḱā hōpō
230 He is sitting on a horse under that tree	Sū ō jhārā nichē gōrē māthō bēlā sē	Uh us rukkhā gō tal ghōrē ge uppar baithū hai	Bah bus khrukkhā-gō tal kudrō khōpar (haḱḱū hōpē
231 His brother is taller than his sister	Ē-chī bānī-kartā ē-chū bhūn ūchā sē	Uskā bhūi nskū bānā satthā lammā hai	Buskā bhautī buskīā (or kharpiā) dhabāna natthā khlammā hōpē
232 The price of that is two rupees and a half	Ē-chī kimat adhi rūpiē sē	Iskā moll dhāī rūpiyē hai	Buskā chimul nḱhāī baluō (or ruknā or labē) hōpē
233 My father lives in that small house	Māchā bā ō dhārē gharā-mā rē-sē	Mōrā bapp nskō gharā bich ruhā hai	Mergā kāptā bus kḱhō khaulē bich rangta hōpē
234 Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tē nō dēwā	Uskō ū rūpayā dē	Buskō bēā ruknā (baluā, labu) dēp
235 Take those rupees from him	Iē rūpiē tō pásē thi ghōwā	Uskō pasā ub rupayā lēi lē	Buskō nasā bah ruknō lēpi lēp
236 Beat him well and bind him with ropes	Ē-nē khōb mārā anē rāḱḱhē-ti bādhā.	Uskō achchhiā tarā mārō tē rāḱḱ sāthith baddhō	Buskō chēngulā narā lō tē khrassē natth chhēdō
237 Draw water from the well	Kuwē-māv-ti pāpi kādḱhā	Us khōā bichcha pāni kādḱhō	Bus nūā kḱhnbichchā chāī kēḱḱhō
238 Walk before me	Mā agiā chāl	Mērē aggō ḱarō	Mērgē kuggē nuro
239 Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tamā wāsō kē-chū pūt āwō sē ?	Tuhārō pichhē kiskā pūt atā hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskū bōrā asrtā hōpō ?
240 From whom did you buy that ?	Tamī hāw kē pāsē ti vēchātī ghōlē ?	Tamō kis thō uh mōllē livya ?	Tamō kis thō buh kḱhnmōllē lēpiā ?
241 From a shopkeeper of the village	Gāmā-chō ēk hāḱāwārē pāsē-ti	Gāwā gē ēkḱi dukandārā pāsū	Dhāmō-(or nādā) gē bēkḱi kūtḱā wālō nāsā.

Kolhaḥ (Akola)	Gardī	Mānwale	English.
Tam gavā .	Tum ghayāyā	Tamō hūṭo	You went.
Vā gayā .	Vā ghavāyā	Vā hūṭo	They went.
Jā	Drhāvā	Hīṭvāḍ	Go
Chalyā	Drhālā	Hīṭṭo	Going
Gavā .	Ghavalōsā	Hīṭṭo	Gone
Tārā nāwchhū kyā hē f	Tērō chyonō kō ?	Tērō nōkādō lā ?	What is your name ?
Iā rhōḍē kī humbar rōṭṭī hachchē ?	F ghōṭṭē-kā kītmā bars ?	Hō ghōḍchē-kā kītanō nārās ?	How old is this horse ?
Bhūṭī sī Kāsmīr rōṭṭī dūr hē ?	Jugā sī Kāsmīr kītmā dūr ?	Hyā sū Kāsmīr kītanō dūg ?	How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tārā kuppā lē khōggē kīttē chhōṭā hē ?	Tērā bhāwntō-kō nānd mā kītmā lāwḍō ?	Tērō māwntō-kō khōk-mō kītanō gēlpō ?	How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Āj bahōṭṭā durā sī phurī āyā	Mī āj bhārānū bāt chāl-kō lūyāyā	Mā khāy chhōṭ dūg rāṭ nālō	I have walked a long way to-day
Mārā kākē kō chhōṭā kā nā lā lūhōṭā sī bīhū laggā	Wōkō bhāntchī mērō kākā-kō lāwḍē-kā wālālī	Wākī rhākī mērō ghakā-kā gēlpō kā khōh-wāḍl	The son of my uncle is married to his sister
Uā lā gū-mē dhothē rhōḍē kō khōgīr hū	Wā nānd mā khuyō ghōr-kā khōgīrtī rhāpēl	Wā khōk mō dhōkō ghōḍchō nhōgīr hōbrō	In the house is the saddle of the white horse
Uā kō nīṭī par khōgīr dhōr	Wōkē pāṭchōī pā khōgīrtī ghakēl	Wākī nīṭ-kō khupār nhōgīr nākōḍ	Put the saddle upon his back
Uā kō chhōṭā kō hū jōhōṭ phātṭā ṭhāṭā	Mī wōkē lāwḍē-kā bhārānū lūgāṭō	Mē wāko gēlpō kā chhōṭ lōṭō	I have beaten his son with many stripes
O nā nēkīr par dhōr charāṭ rīṭvā	Wō wā ṭāḍī pā kāwō chhūyāṭā hē	O nēkādī-kō khūpar ā nēl nārā rhōkō hōbrō	He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill
Uā nūḍā kē tūnē rhōḍē-pari thōḍṭā hōchchē	Wō wā dīhād kē-tān ghōr-kā pā thōḍṭā hē	Dhād kō tākō ā ghōḍchō khūpar ṭōr rōkō	He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
Uā kō bhāwṭī nā lē lūhōṭā sī khōchchē hē	Wōkē bhāntchī sī dhōkō bhōḍ-kā khōchchō bhāpēlā	Wākō bhāntchī wākī rhākī-sū khōchchō hōbrō	His brother is taller than his sister
Bās kō mōl lōḍhāṭ tīṭhū h-	Ōkī kīmmat khādṭ gāndilō	Wākī ḍhūmmat khādṭi ḍhōkoyā	1. The price of that is two rupees and a half
Mērā kāptā bās nānchhā khōggē mō rōkṭā hōchch-	Mērō bhāwntō nānchō nānd mā rhāpēlā	Mērō māwntō wā nhōkō kōk mē rhōkō	3 My father lives in that small house
Yō tīṭhā bās kō d pṭō	Ō kō yō gāndilā wālū	Wā kō yō ḍhōkoyā khūch wāḍ	4 Give this rupee to him
Bus kō nājikā sō nō ṭīṭhō ṭīṭp	Ō gāndilō wōkān sō thāyāl	Wā pēsō yō ḍhōkoyā chōḍg bōṭ	5 Take those rupees from him
Bus kō rhup ṭāy ān bus-kō n'kādīyā-sī nāḍḍhī lā	Ō-ā chūsam lūgā kō jowḍī sī chīrwānd	Wā kō khūchō ṭōṭ-kār jōkādī sō chōnd	6 Beat him well and bind him with ropes
Ruyō mē sī chōṭī kādīl	Thūḍḍī mā sō ghāchmēl nītmā	Rāwḍī mē sū chāyīṭ tōḍg-bōṭ	7 Draw water from the well
Mērō nūḥmō nāl	Mērō khagādī chāl	Mērō khagādī nāl-wāḍ	8 Walk before me
Tērō nīchchhō rīs kō bōrā nārāṭā ?	Tērō ḍhūchādī sō kōn kō lāwḍō hāyālā ?	Tērō rīpchō kōn-kō gēlō bārāwāḍō ?	9 Whose boy comes behind you ?
Byṭ rīṭṭhō sī mōlō ṭyōpyā ?	Tā yō kōn kōn sī mōl lūnā ṭyō ?	Tā yō kōn pēsō dīmāl bēṭō ?	10 From whom did you buy that ?
Bās rhōḍē kō nūkāndārā ṭhōṭ	Wā nānd kō ēk mā rāwā nyā kōn sī	Wā nhōḍē-kā nūkānwālō-pēsō	From a shopkeeper of the village

English	Kanjarī (Shapur)	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Natī (State Kanjar)
215 You went		Tanno gawā	Nann gawā
216 They went		O gawā	Wō gayā
217 Go	Jaogh	Nikhar	Jān
218 Going	Jaughadō	Nikharlō	Jawarō hu
219 Gono	Raūoh ganghurō	Nikhar-gangri	Jawarō hūā
220 What is your name ?	Tērō ku nno-hu lō ?	Tērō nim ku ?	Numbārā kya nām hai ?
221 How old is this horse ?	Ih ghupiro kutō ruphō hai ?	F ghōdō ki kitti amar ?	Is ruhagchō ki kya khumar hai ?
222 How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Ihñ sō Kashmir kitti durhōl hūghō ?	Hyānle Kāsmir kitān dōr hē ?	Fih s Kashmir kitān dōr hai ?
223 How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tērō bap-hela ki rābō-mñ kai chubka hūghō ?	Tērō bap-ko nandā mē kitti bādā hē ?	Numbārā khakap-k rōballā mē kitā bāp hōchō ?
224 I have walked a long way to day	Mañ uj dar hēlō ganghurō	Mañ uj bahut dōr mastō chālō hē	Ihñ uj chhūt khadōr chālā hē
225 The son of my uncle is married to his sister	Mērō kakā kō chūbkō burō ki rahin lūras	Urō ki bhavap mērō kakā k baidā ku dīnā hē	Mērō kakā ku bōhrā nē ki chhī nē bōhā gawā
226 In the house is the saddle of the white horse	Ribō mñ rapēd ghuparō kō jin hē li hai	O nandō-ma ujālī ghōdō-ki jinā hē	Rōballā mē nē ruhagchō kō gad hē hai
227 Put the saddle upon his back	Birō-ki pithēli par jin hēli thikē	Urō-ki pitēli pō jinā dalwār	Us ki pēthi par gaddā dharō
228 I have beaten his son with many stripes	Mañ barō-kē chubka kō rahut chubak lagarō	Mañ urō ki baidā ku bahut ghadwādō hē	Mē nē ki bōhrā kō chhūt lōthā
229 He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill	Birō ruhārī-ki ruṭin par gahēli chārgadhī	Yō t kō-pō jannawarō chārgardō hē	Woh ruhārī ki gōth par nōhē chārū rāhā hai
230 He is sitting on a horse under that tree	Birō paphela tai ghuparī par chubhō hai	F dylhō-ke jinnī ghōdō-ke khōpar chetō-hē	Woh us pē ki khatar bōk ruhagchō par (hōk) hai
231 His brother is taller than his sister	Birō kō chubhūt burā ki rahinā sō lambō hai	Urō-kō bhāi urō-ki bhavan dō khūnchī hē	Us kō bhānō nē-ki chhannī s chhūt khahamkī hai
232 The price of that is two rupees and a half	Birō-ka dam-hela kharāl goil hai	Us ki kimmat jawadut kaulā	Us ki rimat khūi khambū hai
233 My father lives in that small house	Mērō bap-hu lō birō chhuparō rābō mō hē	Mērō bapōnō wō nannkō nandō ma rahēdō	Mērō bap us nannhō rōballā mō rōhtā hai
234 Give this rupee to him	Jō goil birō tūr	Yō kailā urō ku kido	Yah khambū nē kō dē pi dō
235 Take those rupees from him	Wō goil birō-sō lō hūgh	Urō-ko pas dē wō kailā chhūgnā lō	Woh khambū us sō lē pi lō
236 Beat him well and bind him with ropes	Birō kō khūb lagai banī jūbēhēli sō chāñdh	Urō ku nīrō ghadwād kō rasēli dō bandwāi	Us kō khūb lōthō aur jōirō-sō bāñdhō dō
237 Draw water from the well	Dhūñ-sō nimaut nikar	Bawādī mu dē nīwānī khich wār	Rañ sō chhāñ (ē) ki lō
238 Walk before me	Mērō khāgēlō ohalugh	Mērō sambōr chālwar	Mērō gōgō chālō
239 Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tērō mehlō kinō kō chūbkō aughadō ?	Tērō pichwād dō kīrō kō baidō awardō ?	Numbārō nichhō kis kō bōhrā āsūtā hai ?
240 From whom did you buy that ?	Kinō sō tañ mulah lō hūghō ?	Yō kīrō kō pās dē kimatnō līnō ?	Nun-nō woh nich kis sō lē pi hē ?
241 From a shopkeeper of the village	Gachēlā kō bōk bamō-sō	O khēdō kō oklān dukān-wālā kō pās-dē	Nandwā-kō bōk bānyā-ro

Qasbi	Sikalgāri (Belgaum)	English
Tumo khūhuwā . . .	Tum gakyō . . .	215 You went.
Uno khūhuwā . . .	Tō gakyō . . .	216 They went.
Kha	Jakan . . .	217 Go
Khūwatā	Jākanta . . .	218 Going
Khūwāsi . . .	Gaknal . . .	219 Gone
Tērō nan kyī ? . . .	Tārā nām au ?	220 What is your name ?
Ē ghōḍō ku kette sāl ? . . .	Yō chhūmnā nō kokhalā warakh ?	221 How old is this horse ?
Hyāsī Kāsmīr kette dār ?	Hyā tō Kāsmīr kokhalā dār ?	222 How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tērā bāba kā nann me kettā kachelo ?	Tārā yabā nā khōl mā kokhalā dīkarā chhō ?	223 How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Maī āj bahut dūr baṭ chālwaḍku anaryā	Mī āj ghanu dūr wāṭ chālyō	224 I have walked a long way to-day
Uso bhāy mēra chichche-ka kachelā ku līdyātā.	Tinī bhōn mārā kākā nā dīkarā nē gāryōch	225 The son of my uncle is married to his sister
Ō nann me upalo ghōḍō ko khōgir thog tiye	Tira khōl mā dhōḷo chhūmnā us khōgir chhō	226 In the house is the saddle of the white horse
Uski piṭ lū uppar khōgir nḍal	Tinā piṭōdu-par khōgir ghāgal	227 Put the saddle upon his back
Maī uskā kachilā ku bahut ghāḍya haū	Mī tinā chhōkūnō ghautōl nīkārō	228 I have beaten his son with many stripes
Uno o dōḡgar-ke uppar gōrpe charwāḍta hai	Tō ṭokaḍā par dhōrō charwālāgyō	229 He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill
Uno o dīghaḍ ke tallo ghōḍo-ke uppar baṭwaḍo	Tō dīghāḍo khōṭo chhūmnā par bukhlyō	230 He is sitting on a horse under that tree
Uskā bhai uska bhāy so uchha thārtāū	Tinī bhēn tī tinō bhāy uchchō chhō	231 His brother is taller than his sister
Uski kimmat jawanis kaila	Tinī kimmet khaḍī sabādā	232 The price of that is two rupees and a half
Mērā bibā o subak nann me thagtaū	Mārō yabō tō nhānchōn khōl mā rakhhan	233 My father lives in that small house
Uska o kailā līd	Tinō yō sabādā gār	234 Give this rupee to him
Ō kailo usko pas-te mangāllo	Tī kanta yō sabādā ohigārīlō	235 Take those rupees from him
Uso sōbit tarā so ghāḍko rāsi-so bandāl .	Tine ghantōl nikāri nē dōḍḍā tō chhānd	236 Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍī mē si nirga khaṭchāl	Īr-ma tū pānī lāḡōṭ	237 Draw water from the well
Mērā sāmmō chālwaḍ	Mā khamō chāgal	238 Walk before me
Tērā pichōsi kis kā chhanlā awartaū ?	Tārā pāchō kinō chhōknō ālhtyō ?	239 Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis ko pās to tume o maul ku hḍapyā ?	Tū tē ki-kantō khukātō-lōlhtyō ?	240 From whom did you buy that ?
Khōḍō kā okkay dukānwālā pāste	Khōḍā nā wāniya kantā	241 From a shopkeeper of the village.